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AUTHOR Hauptfleisch, T.
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ABSTRACT

This report is the first in a series of four intended to study language attitudes and language maintenance among whites in the Republic of South Africa. The series is based on data provided by a large-scale survey conducted during 1973-1974. The present report deals with attitudes toward English and Afrikaans as official languages, about bilingualism as a national policy, and about the personal need for two languages. The subjects of the study were 1,607 adult whites in the major metropolitan areas. Respondents completed two questionnaires and samples of their language use were tape recorded. The questionnaires inquired into the need for the two official languages, the personal needs people have for a second language, the social spheres in which such needs exist, and feelings about bilingual schooling. The report is presented in four sections: (1) language loyalty: background, theory and concepts; (2) a sociolinguistic research project: the samples, the survey, the attitude questions and the variables; (3) opinions on bilingualism; and (4) the findings, analyzed according to language groups and other basic variables. The most important finding is that the bilingual policy of the country was strongly supported by almost all respondents; however, marked differences between Afrikaners and English-speaking were found in the type of bilingualism espoused and the spheres of need. Another significant finding is that the Afrikaner needs English more than the English-speaking needs Afrikaans. (AMH)

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SOUTH AFRICAN HUMAN SCIENCES RESEARCH COUNCIL

LANGUAGE LOYALTY IN SOUTH AFRICA

volume 1: bilingual policy in south africa — opinions of white adults in urban areas

LANGUAGES SURVEY
FIRST REPORT

T. HAUPTFLEISCH, M.A.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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PREFACE

Since 1970, the Human Sciences Research Council has been engaged in a large-scale, country-wide study of the multilingual situation in South Africa, a project undertaken at the request of the then Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs (now the Minister of National Education). This project entails a detailed study of language habits, preferences, attitudes and usage among all the major population groups in the country.

Under the general title of *Language Loyalty in South Africa*, a series of four reports is intended to study some patterns of language attitudes and language maintenance among White adults in the urban areas of South Africa. The series is based on data provided by a large-scale survey undertaken in all the major urban areas during 1973-1974 and deals mainly with attitudes and first-language loyalties as far as English and Afrikaans, the official languages of the Republic, are concerned.

The present report deals with attitudes towards the official language policy. The following reports are to deal respectively with attitudes towards using and improving usage in the second language (Report No. 2), norms for using the second language (Report No. 3), and language maintenance, language purity and language shift (Report No. 4).

Reports on the results of similar surveys undertaken among the Black population (1975) and all the inhabitants of South West Africa (1976) are also being prepared.

Acting PRESIDENT

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OPSOMMING

Hierdie verslag is die eerste in 'n reeks van vier oor die taalhoudings van Blankes in die Republiek van Suid-Afrika. Die huidige verslag beoog om die houdings van Blankes oor Afrikaans en Engels as amptelike landstale, asook hul houdings ten opsigte van tweetaligheid as nasionale beleid te ondersoek. Aandag word ook geskenk aan die mate waarin 'n persoonlike behoefte aan Afrikaans of Engels as 'n tweedetaal by die Blankes bestaan.

Vir hierdie doel is 'n landwye opname onder Blanke volwassenes in die stedelike gebiede van die RSA uitgevoer. 'n Verteenwoordigende steekproef van 1 607 respondente het vraelyste ingevul oor hulle gebruik van die twee amptelike tale, hulle bedrewenheid in die tale en hulle taalvoorkeure. Die vraelys het onder meer 'n reeks vrae ingesluit oor die wenslikheid van twee amptelike landstale, die persoonlike behoeftes wat mense het aan 'n tweede taal, die sosiale sfere waarin sulke behoeftes bestaan, en houdings ten opsigte van tweetalige skole. Dié vrae en hulle antwoorde dien as data vir die verslag.

In die vertolking van die antwoorde is 'n aantal veranderlikes in aanmerking geneem. Die belangrikste veranderlikes is: taalidentiteit (Afrikaans of Engels), geslag, ouderdom, sosio-ekonomiese status, tweetaligheid (in Afrikaans en Engels) en taalmilieu (d.i. die sosiale en taalomgewing waarbinne die respondent grootgeword het, geleef het en tans leef).

Die bevindings in die verslag dui daarop dat daar in die algemeen tevredenheid is met die tweetaligheidsbeleid in Suid-Afrika, alhoewel die twee taalgroepe geneig is om aan verskillende vorme van twee- of meertaligheid voorkeur te verleen. Dit is ook bevind dat, terwyl albei groepe van mening is dat daar 'n werklike behoefte aan 'n tweede taal binne die Suid-Afrikaanse situasie is, die Afrikaner en die Engelssprekende Suid-Afrikaner verskil oor die sosiale sfere waarbinne die behoeftes bestaan. Dus blyk dat, alhoewel hulle in beginsel saamstem oor die wenslikheid van tweetaligheid, die twee groepe sterk verskil ten opsigte van motivering vir die praat van en voorkeur vir die tweede taal ('n onderwerp wat weer in 'n latere verslag aangeraak word).

Die veranderlikes wat hierdie houdings die meeste beïnvloed is, naas taalidentiteit, (vgl. hierbo), die volgende: (i) sosio-ekonomiese status (hoe hoër die status, hoe groter die bewustheid van 'n behoefte aan die ander taal), (ii) tweetaligheid (hoe tweetaliger 'n persoon, hoe groter sy bewustheid van die rol deur sy tweede taal gespeel), (iii) taalmilieu (hoe meer kontak 'n persoon met sy tweede taal het, hoe meer positief reageer hy teenoor daardie taal). Wat die taalmilieu betref, oefen die kinderjare die meeste invloed uit.

SUMMARY

This report is one in a series of four intended to study language attitudes among Whites in the Republic of South Africa. The present report seeks to assess feelings about English and Afrikaans as official languages and about bilingualism as a national policy. Attention is also paid to the need for English and Afrikaans as second languages, at a personal level.

To study these matters, a country-wide survey was undertaken among adult Whites in all the major metropolitan areas. A representative sample of 1 607 respondents completed questionnaires on their language habits, language use and language preferences. Included in the questionnaire was a series of questions inquiring into the need for the two official languages, the personal needs people have for a second language, the social spheres in which such needs exist and feelings about bilingual schooling. These questions and their responses form the data for this first report.

The questions are considered across a number of variables, the most important of which are: language identity (English or Afrikaans), sex, age, socio-economic status, bilinguality (in English and Afrikaans), and language milieu (i.e. the social and language environments in which the respondent grew up, has lived and currently lives).

The findings of this report indicate that there is a general feeling of satisfaction with the bilingual policy in South Africa, although the two language groups tend to espouse different forms of bi- or multilingualism. It is also found that, while both groups do feel a definite need for a second language in the South African situation, the actual social spheres in which such needs are most strongly felt are not the same for the English speaking South African and the Afrikaner. Thus it appears that, while in principle they agree on the question of bilingualism, the motivations for speaking and preferring the second language differ markedly for the two groups (a point to be taken up again in a later report).

The most influential variables, as far as these attitudes are concerned, besides language identity (cf above), have proven to be: (i) socio-economic status (the higher the status, the greater the awareness of a need for the other language), (ii) bilinguality (the more bilingual a person, the greater his awareness of the role played by his second language) (iii) language milieu (the more contact a person has with the second language, the more positive are his reactions towards that language). As far as the influence of milieu is concerned, the strongest influence is experienced as a child.

1. LANGUAGE LOYALTY: BACKGROUND, THEORY AND CONCEPTS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

A study of language and society in South Africa inevitably implies a study of multiplicity - a multitude of languages, a multitude of cultures, a multitude of influencing factors. This is historically so, and inherently so, for awareness of cultural and ethnic individuality is fundamental to South African thought.

The composition of South African society is such that it falls naturally into four principal categories, normally typified as White, Coloured, Asian and Black (Bantu) groups. These major groups however also consist of various sub-groups (or ethno-political units) which make up distinct cultural entities. According to the preliminary figures of the 1970 Census (as taken from South Africa 1974 - Official Yearbook of the Republic of South Africa. South Arican Department of Information, 1974, p. 128) the composition of the total population is as follows:

TABLE 1.1

Ethnic group		Percentage of total population
Afrikaners (Afrikaans-speaking South Africans) English-speaking South Africans	Whites	17,5
Coloureds		9,4
Asians		2,9
Zulu		18,8
Xhosa		18,3
Tswana		8,0
North Sotho		7,5
South Sotho		6,8
Shangaan		3,4
Swazi		2,3
Ndebele		1,9
Venda		1,7
Other Blacks		1,5
Total population: 21 447 230		

It is also true that the majority of these groups have their own distinctive languages and own cultural systems.

Accordingly the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa makes provision for more than one official language and Section 108, Act No. 32 of 1961 (as amended by Act No. 9 of 1963 and Act. No. 1 of 1971) provides as follows:

"108. Equality of official languages - (1) English and Afrikaans shall be the official languages of the Republic, and shall be treated on a footing of equality, and possess and enjoy equal freedom, rights and privileges.

(2) All records, journals and proceedings of Parliament shall be kept in both the official languages, and all Bills, Acts and notices of general public importance or interest issued by the Government of the Republic shall be in both the official languages.

(3) Notwithstanding the provisions of subsection (1) an Act of Parliament or a proclamation of the State President, issued under an Act of Parliament, whereby a Bantu area is declared to be a self-governing territory in the Republic, or a later Act of Parliament or a later proclamation of the State President (which in the absence of any other empowering provision may be issued under this subsection) may provide for the recognition of one or more Bantu languages for any or all of the following purposes, namely -

(a) as an additional official language or as additional official languages of that territory; or

(b) for use in that territory for official purposes prescribed by or under that Act or later Act or by any such proclamation,

and may contain provisions authorizing the use of any such Bantu language outside the said territory for such purposes connected with the affairs of that territory and subject to such conditions as may be prescribed by or under that Act or later Act or by any such proclamation."

South Africa is thus constitutionally bilingual (and potentially multilingual in certain territories such as the Transkei or KwaZulu).

It is this linguistic and cultural diversity, and the attitudinal values it generates, which make out the field to be studied in this and following reports on Language Loyalty in South Africa.

For purposes of research and comparison the reports make a distinction between the four major ethnic groups: Whites, Coloureds, Asians and Blacks. This, the first report, deals with the White Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking adults in urban areas.

The majority of Whites in South Africa speak one of the two official languages, English or Afrikaans or both. But language has a deeper significance in the relations between these two groups. It is in this respect that Bettina J. Huber has called language "the traditional South African polariser". This fact is borne out by a study among White South African elites (Van der Merwe *et al*, 1974, pp. 153-4) and it is difficult to deny that language identity has historically proved to be the single most effective token of ethnic solidarity in this country. Language identify forms one of the three basic characteristics of the Afrikaner as usually defined, along with religious affiliation and

political affiliation (Van der Merwe, 1974, pp. 32-34; 155-156). A similar, easily identified pattern does not exist among English-speaking South Africans today.

Thus basically, in studying attitudes and concepts concerning language in South Africa it must be remembered that one is dealing with two different sets of values and social norms and socio-historic traditions, and that the factor one is studying - language - is the most important dividing factor.

There are many historical reasons for this development starting with the first British Settlement of the Cape and culminating in the language movements of the late 19th Century, the Anglo Boer War and the resulting Union of South Africa. By the time Afrikaans became entrenched in the South African constitution as a co-national language (1925) the patterns of political, religious and social connotations of language preference had been firmly established. What has happened since is simply the logical consequence of changes in the political and social situation.

It is within this political/social framework that language loyalty and language maintenance must be interpreted in South Africa. Unlike many other countries with large immigrant populations (e.g. the USA), it has not become a matter of maintaining a minority language as a concrete manifestation of a former culture in the face of an overwhelming new, adopted culture (a type we *also* have among our German, Dutch, Portuguese and Jewish communities), but a matter of maintaining the individuality of two equal languages. While the Constitution makes formal provision for equal treatment of the languages in all phases of society, the *de facto* implementation of this bilingual system *rests in the hands of the individual citizen.* So it is the individual's language loyalty that is finally of consequence and it is with the individual in society that any study of the phenomenon must be concerned. The choice of language identity is free, determinted normally only by circumstances and preference.

Attention will be paid to the formal aspects of language ordinance and language maintenance in later studies in this series, notably the controlled bodies of the Civil Service and Education, but in the present study the concern is with man in society. In other words, the field is related to that of sociology and social psychology, studying the everyday reactions of the average South African White to the bilingual situation and its bicultural nature.

1.2 LANGUAGE LOYALTY

The concept of language loyalty encompasses the attitudes and behaviour of the White population in respect of the two official languages, English and Afrikaans*. Three factors and their interrelationship are important here,

*The attitudes of the Blacks have also been studied and reports to this effect will appear later in this series.

circumscribing the field of study:

(a) Awareness of the status, rights and uses of the individual's mother tongue, and the degree to which the mother tongue is retained as language of identity

(b) Attitude towards the bilingual ideal and awareness of the status, rights and uses of the individual's second language

(c) The individual's language preference and motivation for learning and using the languages.

The above-mentioned three points could also be rephrased as questions: how loyal are South Africans to the language(s) of their ancestors, to the language(s) with which they identify and to the bilingual ideal? And why?

These questions may very well be asked historically first of all. But the scope and size of the present study just does not provide enough space for this. The reader is therefore referred to other books on the development of the present bilingual situation in South Africa. Besides the standard history books there are a number of Afrikaans studies of this history (E.g. P.J. Nienaber, *Mylpale in die geskiedenis van die Afrikaanse taal en letterkunde*, (1951); E.C. Pienaar, *Die triomf van Afrikaans*, (1946) and J. du P. Scholtz *Die Afrikaner en sy taal 1806-1875*). A fine and concise English summary of this evolution is contained in the *Standard Encyclopaedia of South Africa* (1970).

1.3 TERMS AND CONCEPTS

1.3.1 Attitudes and their measurement

The central concern in language loyalty is with attitudes and attitude-based behaviour, attitudes to the languages, to language learning and to language use and usage.

Attitudes are basic to social behaviour and language is a social factor of prime importance, particularly in a bilingual environment. Attitude has of necessity been defined in numerous ways for, as Rokeach has said (1969, p. 110) "the concept has been plagued with ambiguity." The problem is that "attitude" is internal and not a basic irreducible and measureable element of the personality. It is rather a cluster of interrelated elements made up of such intangibles as superstitions, beliefs, "feelings", as well as more rational opinions and suppositions*. It can also be closely related to the complete

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Vide Rokeach, 1969, (p. 112); Adorno *et al*, 1950, (pp. 4-5) links this to a theory of *total personality*. Sargent and Williamson, 1958, (pp. 224-226) also stress the complexity of "attitude", noting that factors such as the individual's position towards an aspect in his given world, motivation, emotion, behaviour and an organized system of attitudes and opinions close to the core of personality, all play a role in the formation and realization of an individual attitude.

value system of a society or individual. All this makes for difficult measuring and interpretation, especially in cases where circumstantial influences are important.

By rights this should be the time to undertake a detailed discussion of attitude theory and measuring practice. However, it would be unprofitable at present in view of the nature of the data to be studied (cf. 2.1). Theory could be well enough served by consulting writers such as Rokeach (1969), Adorno *et al* (1950), Thurstone and Chave (1929) and Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957), to mention only a few. Sufficient for our present use is Gordon Allport's now famous definition:

"An attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related" (Allport, 1935).

As Allport himself pointed out later (Lindsey and Aronson, 1954): the term itself may not be indispensable, but what it stands for is. It is not the difficult term, but the series of values, predispositions, beliefs, opinions and incentives to behaviour which make up the person's possible reaction to the bilingual situation that interests us.

So while we do need the concept of "attitude", the particular definition of an attitude (beyond Allport's 'neural state of readiness') will depend on the context, for "attitude" is an abstract concept that gains life only when given an object. It can never be free from the preposition *to* or *towards* and has to be interpreted in the light of such an object. Positive attitudes towards a ham sandwich, euthenasia and the National Party are three incomparable things. The definition of 'positive' *in abstracto* is meaningless, for *positive* is linked irretrievably to the ham sandwich ("I could eat ham sandwiches every day"), to euthenasia ("I think euthenasia is absolutely essential to save the world from overpopulation") to the Nationalist Party ("I think the Nationalist Party has all the answers for South Africa's problems"). A simple "I like/do not like" definition will suffice for two of the three attitudes but surely not for euthenasia. Nor is it really sufficient to describe feelings held about the National Party.

Even the decision of whether we are discussing the attitude towards the first language (mother tongue) or second language (the alternative language in South African circumstances) or the third, fourth or fifth language is highly material to it all.

The first point then is that we must decide "attitude to what or whom?" The second point is that much more than personality of the subject and the object of the attitude are involved in a particular expression of belief, opinion, ideology or attitude at a particular moment in space and time. Such aspects

as the attitude to a situation in which the object of attitude lies*, the definition of the situation in which the subject finds himself**, historical and social pressures*** all tend to influence the quality of the attitude felt and particularly expressed. For this reason *general attitudes* are not a feasible field of study, for they do not differentiate between such fields and influences. The particular point and context of each attitude enquired about need to be considered for interpretation.

Two final points of difficulty are:

(a) that attitudes are highly personal and involved, thus it is highly unlikely that an attitude will be easily elicited in a public situation. In fact it may often be doubted whether we *ever* get more than an opinion, or what has also been termed an ideology;

(b) that attitudes are not necessarily directly related to behaviour.

These last two points have, perhaps more than any others, led to much intensive research and particularly to the development of a number of measurement techniques and scales whereby "standard" and comparable attitude scores may be had. The work of Bogardus, Thurstone, Allport, Osgood, Rokeach and Fishbein are well-known in this respect. The various methods devised by these pioneers have since been adapted and improved for use in language attitude studies, particularly by J.A. Fishman and W.E. Lambert. So there do seem to be instruments at hand whereby language attitudes may be "objectively" measured.

Yet we have decided against the unconditional employment of these techniques for the following reasons. Firstly, our approach to the bilingual situation has been a-political, a difficult enough stance to maintain without aggravating it by suggesting the political connotations through leading questions. Secondly, the social-distance scale of Bogardus, the semantic differential technique of Osgood (as applied to ethnic affiliation) and the California F scale (Adorno *et al*, 1950) have all been taken for each of the two language groups (Afrikaans- and English-speaking South Africans) by other researchers in other contexts. So, much data on ethnic attitudes will be available. Thirdly, we are concerned with attitudes towards the two languages, and only particular aspects of these languages, as defined by our concept of language loyalty.

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*Rokeach, 1969, pp. 118-119

**R.L. Gorden, 1952, 240 ff.

***Allport, 1957, p. 73.

What we have done then is to set a number of questions on stereotyped attitudes and opinions about the languages, a few on the personal uses of the languages, and have balanced these with a few questions on active use of the second language. The rationale behind the latter questions, which are related to Fishman's *commitment measures*, will be given in the appropriate chapters where they are dealt with. Suffice it to say here that it has been found that in a large scale survey of this kind, a few selected questions prove to be the most economic means of describing the wide spectrum of "language loyalty" in this particular South African context*. While it is an inaccurate approach for "laboratory" work, it is fine enough for pointing out certain trends, which is all the present survey seeks. These trends may then serve as guidelines for future intensive study.

1.3.2 Key concepts

For the sake of clarity it may be well if brief definitions of a few key concepts, as they are employed in the body of this study, were provided.

Firstly, *attitude* will be used for the deep-seated and private "state of readiness" or "propensity to act in a certain way" as described by Allport's definition, while *opinion* will be used to indicate the more public *i.e.* more easily expressed and more easily influenced belief, attitude or value. Opinions too are important for they create the climate within which the deeper founded attitudes are formed. In a direct questionnaire what one normally gets is opinions, not true attitudes.

A *stereotype* is seen in Rokeach's terms as "a socially shared belief that described an attitude object in an oversimplified or undifferentiated manner" (Rokeach, 1969, p. 125). In other words, the public opinion of society in general, as contrasted to the opinion of each individual within that society. Stereotypes too are very important to the formation of the social climate within which language preferences act.

A type of attitude often referred to today is *prejudice*, a specialised form which is perhaps best defined by Allport: *Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group*" (1954, p. 9). It will be employed in this way.

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*Cf. K.P. Prinsloo, 1972, p. 69 ff.

Finally, language loyalty has been defined, but within it two concepts need to be established and named: *language identification* and *mother tongue*. In the context of this study, when an English speaker is spoken of, the reference is to one who speaks English as a home language, who has identified himself as an English speaker. Respondents in the survey were obliged to select either an English or Afrikaans questionnaire for completion on the basis of their language identification. This in itself is an expression of attitude. The whole problem of *language shift*, which is a basic indication of a shift in allegiance or loyalty, is linked to language identity. Thus *first language* is normally used to mean *language of identification*. *Mother tongue* is only used where it is in actual fact his mother's language that he is using.

1.4 SOME ABBREVIATIONS

To avoid the clumsy terminological circumscriptions of "English-speaking South African" and "Afrikaans-speaking South African", the abbreviations *ESSA* and *Afrikaner*, popularised by the 1820 Settlers' Conference held in Grahamstown (1974), are used in the report. In contrast the term *the British* indicates non-South Africans from the British Isles, even though they may be living in South Africa as temporary residents. A plural form for ESSA, namely ESSAs, is used.

A few other abbreviations have also been introduced:

L1 = language of identification, first language
L2 = second language, the other official language
L3 = third language, any language other than Afrikaans or English
A = Afrikaans
E = English
A/E = Afrikaans and English
A/E/B = Afrikaans, English and a Bantu language

2. A SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH PROJECT

2.1 THE SAMPLE AND SURVEY

During the course of 1973 and early 1974 the fieldwork on which this survey is based was completed. A random sample of one in every 375 names was drawn from the latest (1972) voters' roll, concentrating on White South African citizens living in urban areas with populations of more than 10 000 inhabitants. This limitation was set since about 86,8% of the White population is urban* and because language shift and contact is most likely to occur in the

*based on the 1970 Census figures

high density areas. This provided us with a target number of 2 000 respondents as well as a number of reserves to provide for losses through deaths, migrations, rejections and similar hazards.

Of the total sample approximately 4/5ths (160) was finally contacted. Each respondent received a letter explaining the purpose of the survey and asking for co-operation. Following this a fieldworker arranged for an interview where two questionnaires were completed by the respondent and samples of his language use (in both English and Afrikaans) were recorded on tape.

The questionnaires sought to elicit information on the various functions for which the respondent uses the two languages (in written and spoken forms), his proficiency in the second language and his language loyalty. The second questionnaire concentrated on reading and book-buying habits. The tape-recordings were intended for two purposes: firstly to get a sample of the respondent's L1 use and secondly, to get a sample of L2 use for later intensive analysis, against the background of the respondent's L1 use.

Such was the general project. In Appendix I Tables are provided to give a breakdown of the sample, according to a number of standard social variables.

2.2 THE ATTITUDE QUESTIONS

The questions on which the following interpretations are based were contained in the questionnaire entitled "The use of English and Afrikaans in the urban areas of South Africa", which also included a biographical section providing information on the person's sex, age, marital status, highest educational qualification, church affiliation, occupation, income, city of residence and period or residence there, other places of residence, origin and language identity of parents and grandparents, and finally his own language identity as well as that of his wife and children.

The various questions were set to elicit opinions and attitudes on a number of cardinal facets of language loyalty and language use, either directly or indirectly. The facets are:

(a) the importance of the two languages in general, for all citizens;
(b) the personal importance which the languages have for the respondents;
(c) the respondent's norms for using the two languages and his motivations;
(d) the language 'loyalty' of the respondent, his language identity.

In the discussions to follow the questions are not categorised rigidly according to the scheme provided above. This is partly due to the fact that expressed attitudes are quite often interpretable at various levels, but especially to the fact that the final scheme evolved from the answers received, rather than having been preconceived as a fixed pattern. This resulted because the questions as set were adapted from those employed in a preliminary survey undertaken in 1970 among two groups of university students in Pretoria and

Johannesburg (described in K.P. Prinsloo, 1972). The purpose of that pilot study was primarily to test and design various measuring instruments to be used in a general survey of the whole adult population of South Africa.

In the 1970 survey (hereafter referred to as the *pilot study*) a number of questions on attitudes and predispositions towards the second language were grouped under three headings:

(a) Opinions on the importance of the two languages

(b) The norms and conventions of the two language groups with regards to language use

(c) The trouble taken by people to improve their use of the second language.

A number of questions used in the *pilot study* were found to be suitable measuring instruments for particular facets of language but, because of the wider language-contact possibilities of an adult sample in contrast to the more culturally defined student sample, others were deemed unsuitable for general use. At the same time a few questions were added.

Of the original 22 questions in the pilot study, 11 were finally retained, either as they stood or in adapted form. Another 10 questions were then added to make up the total of 21 definite *attitude* questions*. Unfortunately it was not possible to pre-test the additional questions beyond a strictly limited sample in the office, and inevitably one or two have disappointed the researchers. Nevertheless, broadly speaking, the questions were found to fulfill the duties for which they were designed. Again it must be emphasized that it has not been the intention of this project to design an *attitude* or *language loyalty scale*. Selection, assessment and rejection of attitude questions were done on the basis of the required information, the previous experience of other researchers (*cf.* Bibliography) and the experience gained from reactions in the pilot study. Where possible in the latter case the validity of the questions was tested by approaching the same attitude from different angles. Those questions finally selected had proved themselves usable on these grounds. Those giving ambiguous or ill-defined responses were discarded.

Unfortunately, because of the bulk of the eventual questionnaire it was not always possible to reinforce questions in the final questionnaire in this way. Nevertheless, correlations between questions (some of which are to be discussed later on) indicated that responses to similar questions do reveal comparable response patterns.

Cf. **Appendix II.**

An example of such balanced questioning from the pilot study is the comparison of the answers to questions 40 and 95. Prinsloo found that both questions gave similar responses, and therefore concludes that the two questions both measure aspects of the same thing, an attitude to the instrumental value of the second language in South African context (K.P. Prinsloo, 1970, pp. 76-79). Because the first question provided sharper distinction between the different groups of variables, and because it is more instrumental and specific ("Are people at a serious disadvantage .." in contrast to "Do you regard it as worthwhile .."), question 40 was used again in slightly rephrased form for the large scale survey, where it becomes question 38 (K.P. Prinsloo, 1972, pp. 76-77). When further examples are met with the following chapters, the comparisons will be pointed out in the appropriate place.

2.3 VARIABLES

Besides the usual social variables that are normally seen as influencing attitudes and opinions, such as sex and age differences, the particular focal point of this study made control of a few variables desirable.

2.3.1 Socio-economic status

Perhaps one of the most important of these variables, particularly in the light of this study's focal point, is what is termed socio-economic status. That social differences or "classes" do exist in White South African society has little need of proof. Most Western societies are stratified, be it by means of educational, political or economic criteria. The most common indices of status in modern society are educational level, occupational status and income, the latter being the most difficult to pin down (how much do people actually earn?) and actually closely related to occupation.

For the purposes of this study it was hypothesized that status of the family to which the individual respondent belongs would have a significant effect on his or her attitudes. Fortunately there was already at hand an index of socio-economic status for South African conditions evolved by H.G. Strijdom of the HSRC. He took the three indices (educational level, occupation and income) and worked out a cumulative score for each. Thus an average social status score could be had by the following formula $\Sigma \frac{EOI}{3}$. The rationale behind this can be found in Strijdom, 1971.

For the purposes of this study the threefold index was not quite suitable, but one based on educational level and occupation alone could be used easily enough. Income was left out because income levels have changed to rapidly in the past years that they cannot be considered a reliable reflection of socio-economic class over any extended period of time. Furthermore there is the problem that many respondents did not reveal their incomes.

Strijdom (in his study) provides proof that occupation alone corresponds highly to the average index. Thus question 52 and question 54 in the questionnaire were recodified and given scores according to Strijdom's system (1971, pp. 24-30) and these scores were summed and divided by two to give 45 degrees of social status. These degrees were arranged along a continuum from highest to lowest.

However, 45 degrees of social status are unwieldy. When the frequencies for the universum were compared, it was found that three concentration points resulted, at 1 (15,0%), 17 (11,7%) and 33 (15,6%). In between the frequencies were low, averaging round about 1%.

Taking each of these concentration points as the top of a social class it was found that the sample was represented in the three larger classes to be following ration: 16:16:13, giving a rather too large upper and too small lower class. However, a comparison of our sample's incomes with that of the population, seems to indicate that our sample is slightly skewed in favour of the upper classes. A look at educational levels of the sample would also point to this.

A factor to be considered here is that, in the case of married women (of which there are 669 in the sample), the *husband's* socio-economic status was calculated instead of the wife's, as determining the status of the family. Lastly, a problem may have arisen with the educational levels as indicated in question 52. Standard 10 plus three years may simply have been taken as three years post matriculation training. Combined with the broad professional categories used, the status index has a certain fluid nature which will have to be interpreted with care.

Nevertheless, the three groups selected, do each have particular characteristics, as the following table illustrates:

TABLE 2.1

	SOCIAL CLASSES		
	upper	middle	lower
(a) Percentage of respondents who get less than R7 000 p.a.	42,8	76,2	93,4
(b) Highest average educational qualification in the group	Std 9-10 + 3	Std 6-10 + 2	Std 8
(c) Percentage of respondents who never make speeches in their first language	39,4	61,5	73,2
(d) Percentage of respondents who have read a magazine during the past month	94,8	87,5	87,1
(e) Percentage of respondents who wrote anything in the 1st language during the past month	83,3	67,7	51,7

As can be seen, we have to do with three definite categories, although the borders between them are difficult to determine. However, this is a problem with all social divisions of this kind, and for the purpose of this study the three social categories may be seen as classes and, as even the limited data provided above illustrate, classes which differentiate between different social experience and background. Such differences are important in the formation of social attitudes. For this reason, the use of this socio-economic status index was considered justifiable.

Finally, the two language groups are somewhat differently distributed across the socio-economic scale, as may be seen from Table 2.2.

TABLE 2.2

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS - BY LANGUAGE GROUP

	Upper		Middle		Lower		Total
Afrikaners	264	30,6%	330	41,1%	227	28,3%	803
ESSAs	247	42,9%	230	39,9%	99	17,2%	576

The ESSAs are concentrated in the upper and middle class groups while the Afrikaners are more evenly distributed, with a greater concentration in the middle and lower class groups. Other researchers have found a similar weighing of the ESSA group in the upper class, notably Van der Merwe, Charton and Huber (1974, p. 26) who find the Afrikaans group (=Afrikaners) under-represented in their selection of elites, while the English group (=ESSAs) are over-represented.

So the difference is not necessarily the fault of a skewed sample, but of a socio-historical situation.

Fortunately both language groups are well enough represented in each status group to allow the patterns across the three groups to be studies for each language group individually.

2.3.2 Bilinguality

A *bilinguality scale* was devised in an attempt to ascertain whether attitudes towards the second language may be correlated. This measure was arrived at by a recodification of question 30. This is an assessment by the respondent of his own language proficiency according to three elements: pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar.

Because the recodification into one scale of three scales of six items would give an enormous scale of items, it was decided to use only two of the three original scales: grammar and vocabulary. Pronunciation, while intimately connected with linguistic ability, is not necessarily a prerequisite for the ability to carry on a conversation, while some elementary knowledge of grammar and a fundamental vocabulary are.

A further assumption on which this scale had to be based was that each respondent could carry on a conversation in his language of identification (i.e. the language of the questionnaire which he chose to complete). In other words, that he would at least give himself a I ("very good, like one whose mother tongue is ..."), or at worst a 2 ("Good, but weaker than one whose mother tongue is ...") were he to have rated his own ability in that language.

A final adjustment was made before the combined scale was devised. Because of the size of our sample a 6 point scale was still to large. A simple 3 point scale of proficiency (good, fair, weak) with a fourth (absolutely unilingual, i.e. unable to speak the second language) was more pliable, providing larger units. So the original 6 point scale was combined as follows:

Very good, like one whose mother tongue is this language	1 } = 1 Good
Good but weaker than one whose mother tongue is this lang.	2 }
Fairly good, acceptable	3 = 2 Fair
Fairly weak, not quite acceptable	4 } = 3 Weak
Very weak	5 }
Cannot speak it at all	6 = 4 Unable

This done, and using this scale for the two items *grammar* and *vocabulary*, a single scale was devised by means of the following (admittedly somewhat arbitrary though surely not illogical) system:

Grammar	Vocabulary	Bilinguality	
1	1	1	Good
1	2	2 }	
2	1	2 }	Fair
2	2	2 }	
2	3	3 }	
3	2	3 }	Weak
3	3	3 }	
3	4	4* }	Unable to speak L2
4	3	4* }	
4	4	4 }	

Strictly speaking the categories marked with an asterisk cannot exist. It will also be noticed that there is no provision for extreme combinations, e.g. 1+3, but this was a rare occurrence and the degree of proficiency of such a person is difficult to determine from the data provided. As there have been very few such cases (along with a few who only responded to one of the items),

the omission of such cases seemed justified in order to avoid the problems involved.

What we have eventually is a scale indicating people with good or exceptional bilingual ability (*i.e.* theoretically, *in their own estimation* speaking both languages equally well), people with fair bilingual ability (*i.e.* able to speak both languages, but the second only "acceptably" well), people with weak bilingual ability (*i.e.* barely bilingual, whose second language use is "not quite acceptable", but still able to get by in restricted circumstances) and people who are unilingual (*i.e.* unable to speak the second language at all).

The term *bilingual* and *bilinguality* is used here in a sense limited strictly on two points:

Firstly it is confined to the South African situation. The person is bilingual or unilingual only in terms of *Afrikaans* and *English*, although this does not imply that he knows only one language. A person may be a fluent English/French bilingual but be considered *unilingual* for this study because he cannot speak Afrikaans. In general discussions of international findings and theories of bilingualism, this restriction cannot apply, it is only for the data of this particular survey that the restriction is needed.

A second limitation may more properly be seen as a working definition of bilinguality for this survey: A person is deemed *bilingual* if he is able to carry on a conversation (*i.e.* understand, respond to and contribute to the conversation) in his second language. Such a definition presupposes various *degrees* of bilinguality, measured in comparison to the person's proficiency in the first language*. Our somewhat elementary scale is an attempt to cater for such diversity.

What this definition excluded however is *passive* command of the second language (reading or mere understanding). While our scale, based on command of grammar and vocabulary, may also elicit answers based on passive command (the item pronunciation would have been a control here, but was poorly responded to), the question was framed in such a way as to elicit response only with respect to conversation:

"30 *How well can you speak Afrikaans when suddenly presented with the opportunity of conversing for a minute or two with a stranger on a topic which you know well and can talk about? Please indicate, by means of crosses, how good your usage would be as far as pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar are concerned:"*

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*This scale is a 'self-evaluative' one. The tape-recorded conversations between respondents and interviewers are to be objectively assessed by qualified judges and the results will appear in a later publication. It will be interesting to compare the correlations of those "objective" assessments and the attitude questions, with the conclusion to be drawn with the scale discussed in this report. Unfortunately the objective *bilingualism* score is not available yet.

2.3.3 Language background, language experience and language environment

A tremendous influence on attitudes - which are part and parcel of the personality of the respondent - is exerted by his social milieu: thus the concern with status. Also the concern with environment. In the case of language a number of environmental influences may affect his feelings about the particular languages, especially the amount and type of contact he has had with the language at various stages in his life.

For the purpose of this investigation we distinguish three stages of linguistic influence: language background (*i.e.* the language spoken at home and in the neighbourhood up to 18 years of age), early language experience (the extent to which the second language was used in the society in which the respondent has lived and worked since childhood) and language environment (*i.e.* the present position).

To facilitate the use of these stages as variables, a number of re-computations of answers to specific questions were made so as to derive four scores: one each for language background (based on questions 2 and 3), earlier language experience (questions 3 and 4), language environment (question 14) and present city of residence.

(a) *Language background*

Language background is based on the language spoken in the home (question 2), by the father and mother, as well as the language heard in the neighbourhood (question 3).

After codification one is provided with 18 possible forms of language background, arranged according to richness of second language milieu, as follows:

01	Purely 2nd language parents	and often spoke 2nd lang. out of school	(4)
02	" " " "	" occasionally " " " " "	(7)
03	" " " "	" never " " " " "	(0)
04	Mixed, pro 2nd "	" often " " " " "	(5)
05	" " " "	" occasionally " " " " "	(3)
06	" " " "	" never " " " " "	(0)
07	Mixed (50/50) "	" often " " " " "	(81)
08	" " " "	" occasionally " " " " "	(24)
08	" " " "	" never " " " " "	(3)
10	Mixed pro 1st "	" often " " " " "	(7)
11	" " " "	" occasionally " " " " "	(14)
12	" " " "	" never " " " " "	(4)
13	Purely 1st "	" often " " " " "	(375)
14	" " " "	" occasionally " " " " "	(528)
15	" " " "	" never " " " " "	(311)
16	Purely 3rd "	" often " " " " "	(7)
17	" " " "	" occasionally " " " " "	(17)
18	" " " "	" never " " " " "	(16)

(Total = 1446)

This scale is large, but could be used selectively for actual discussions; and it does cater for most of the many possible variations of milieu that could obtain language background.

The actual number of respondents in each of the categories is provided in brackets after each description. Six major concentration points appear should one take a minimum of 20 respondents as cutting point. This gives one three types of home background: (a) unilingual L1, (b) unilingual L2, and (c) mixed, *i.e.* one parent L1, one parent L2. It also provides: three types of environment for (a), three for (b), and two for (c).

The measure is thus scaled down to the following 6 variations:

1 unilingual L1 home, often spoke L2
2 " " " occasionally " L2
3 " " never " L2
4 mixed L1 & L2 " often " L2
5 " " " " occasionally " L2
6 unilingual L2 " often " L2*

In the language background index an attempt is made to differentiate between people with different home-language backgrounds, in other words to delineate not only the language experience but also the language shifts that could have taken place and which may influence attitudes.

(b) *Earlier language experience*

In this index the concern is purely with the language milieu within which a person, identifying himself as a speaker of a certain language, grew up and lived, particularly the extent to which the milieu was that of his second language. For this index the responses to questions 3 and 4 were recodified in such a way as to give four degrees of language experience since childhood.

1 = spoke L2 outside the classroom up to 18 years of age and also later because of the environment in which he lived or worked
2 = spoke L2 outside the classroom up to 18 years of age, but not later
3 = did not speak L2 outside the classroom before 18 years of age, but did later because of the environment in which he lived or worked
4 = did not speak L2 at any time outside the classroom or in any environment in which he lived or worked

*This group has undergone a language shift, and therefore the language background description here is not quite comparable to that of the other groups, since L2 here signifies the respondent's former language identity. More will be said of this factor in Report No. 4 in this series

(c) *Language environment*

Another very important variable is the extent to which the respondent is at present involved with the second language. Apart from the language make-up of the city in which he resides (which forms the 4th of the "background" variables), there is also the information to be gleaned from question 14. By selective recodification (*i.e.* by combining the options in such a way as to neutralise those parts of the options referring to the extent to which the respondent *actually made use of* the opportunities to speak the second language) we were able to arrive at a 9 point index of the extent to which the respondent has opportunities for using his second language.

1 = Do not use L2 for this purpose

2 = Occasionally have the opportunity to have brief and casual conversations in L2

3 = Occasionally have the opportunity to have brief and casual as well as serious conversations in L2

4 = Often have the opportunity to have brief and casual conversations in L2

5 = Often have the opportunity to have casual conversations in L2. Occasionally have the opportunity for serious conversations

6 = Often have the opportunity to have both casual and serious conversations in L2

7 = Occasionally have the opportunity to have serious conversations in L2

8 = Often have the opportunity to have serious conversations in L2

9 = Occasionally have the opportunity to have casual conversations in L2, and often to have serious conversations

Again the range of options is great, and possibly selective discussion will have to be the rule, but some indication of the influence of present language environment ought to be possible.

(d) *Present city of residence*

Lastly we look at the present city/urban area in which the respondent resides. These areas have been classified, according to their language "colour"*, into 15 areas. These are:

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*This concept devised by K.P. Prinsloo is an expression, by means of a simple percentage, of the ratio of Afrikaans-speaking inhabitants to the total White population of any city. Calculated by the following formula:

$$\text{Language colour} = \frac{\text{No. Afr. inhabitants}}{\text{Total no. inhabitants (Eng. + Afr.)}} \times 100$$

The data used for this purpose were those of the 1960 census, the most recent available at the time.

Pretoria
The Vaal Triangle
East Rand
Johannesburg (including Germiston and Alberton)
West Rand
Pietersburg, Witbank, Rustenburg
Bloemfontein
OFS Goldfields
Kroonstad
Natal (Durban and Pietermaritzburg)
Kimberley
Eastern Cape
Cape Town
Paarl, Stellenbosch, Valsbaai
Oudtshoorn

2.3.4 Other variables

The following two final variables were used for a limited number of questions.

(a) The language spoken by the spouse

(b) A special selection was made of all the respondents who had undergone a language shift. What are the attitudinal characteristics of that group?

While marital status is bound to have some influence on general attitudes, it is hypothesized here that the greatest influence exerted by marriage on language is the replacement of the parental influence by the spouse's influence. That means the replacement especially of parental language identity and attitudes by the language identify of the wife (and children) and the attitudinal changes wrought, particularly in cases of mixed (i.e. inter-language group) marriages. For this reason question 2(c) is used as a variable in certain cases, particularly cases of language shift.

The language shift groups (and language shift in itself may be a significant indicator of language attitude) are of interest in their own right. What are their attitudes? Again, by selective recodification of questions 2(a) and 2(b) the following forms of language shift are differentiated.

1 Both parents are B language speakers*

2 Father is A language, mother is B language speaker

3 " " B " " " A " "

4 " " 3rd " " " A " "

5 " " A " " " 3rd " "

6 " " bilingual " " A " "

7 " " A language " " bilingual

8 " " 3rd " " " 2nd lang. "

or " " 2nd " " " 3rd " "

9 " " bilingual " " 2nd " "

10 " " 2nd language " " bilingual

11 " " 3rd " " " "

or " " bilingual " " 3rd lang. "

These shift groups will also be studied with regards to language, sex, age and socio-economic status in a later report (No. 4).

The above are the variables according to which the attitude questions are to be discussed in the following chapters. The way in which they are to be employed and interpreted will depend on the questions and the findings themselves. However, it must be pointed out here that because of the size and distribution of the sample, and the type of deductions made, it was not felt wise to study too many variables together. For particular reasons therefore each variable will be studied separately, the only additional factor taken into account being the basic division between ESSAs and Afrikaners.

3. OPINIONS ON BILINGUALISM: THE QUESTIONS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The whole question of the need for a bilingual policy is a complicated one, but central to our concept of language loyalty. It is the first step towards assessing feelings and opinions about the official languages. While it is impossible to deal with the multitude of theoretical possibilities opened up by a study of this nature, we can nevertheless establish the general need felt for bilingualism by the average South African as represented in our sample.

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*This is the true language shift case, since B language (L2) is literally his mother tongue which has now come to be his second language, because he now identifies with the language which had formerly been his second language.

3.2 THE QUESTIONS

The need for bilingualism was tested at three levels, each stressing an aspect of the concept. These three levels were: satisfaction with the bilingual policy (Question 31); the actual practical need for the second language in our society (Questions 38 and 39); the intensity with which the need to be bilingual is felt by the respondent (Questions 45 and 46). From this information it is hoped to be able to give an indication of whether the respondent is in favour of the policy, if so, whether he feels that way because of some theoretical consideration only, or because he feels the second language also plays an effective role in society as he shows it. If the latter, of what spheres of society he would consider this to be true. Finally, does he feel strongly enough about bilingualism to advocate some strong measure (e.g. bilingual schooling) to reinforce it. Because these aspects are closely related, they will be discussed together, rather than as separate questions on diverse aspects.

To determine satisfaction with the bilingual policy the following question was set: "In your opinion, what should the official languages (or language) of the Republic be?" A whole range of possibilities was offered.

This question has had a most interesting evolution and derives directly from the pilot study (Prinsloo, 1972, p. 71). While the question measures the same attitude as that of the pilot study, it has been slightly more diversified in its options, in order to provide for the particular nuances of the bilingual concept as considered acceptable by the respondents.

The question is something of a theoretocal exercise, since (a) the present language clause is entrenched in the Constitution, and is hardly amenable to arbitrary alteration, and (b) the elevation of a single Bantu language to a generally applicable official language is a virtual physical impossibility as there are at least eight different languages which would qualify as major Bantu languages. No single common language is likely to be selected from these. Nevertheless the question elicited a 98,1% response and, as a measure of the satisfaction with the official policy, it does not seem to have been hampered over much by such practical considerations, as the very large EAB (English + Afrikaans + Bantu language) selection testifies*.

An additional advantage of this question was that it provided something which lies beyong a mere agreement or disagreement with bilingual policy, it in fact provided an indication of some form of socio-political comment contained in the selection of response, an aspect which could bear further investigation. For the present however the concern is with the status and value rating of the second language.

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*Theoretically this selection *is* possible within the Constitution, as pointed out above (1.1), but only under certain selected circumstances. The concern here is with a generally applicable trilingual system.

The actual need felt for a second language in the Republic was tested by means of two questions: *Question 38* "Do you think that you place yourself at a disadvantage if you do not speak Afrikaans?" *Question 39* "Are English-speaking people who are not familiar with Afrikaans at a serious disadvantage when they have to deal with matters relating to (a) Commerce and industry? (b) The administration of the country? (c) Social relationships?"

Because of the open nature of *Question 38*, it is well to note that for the purposes of this discussion, interpretation of the question is limited to this: a general measure of the extent to which respondents feel the second language to be indispensable, leaving the respondent free to decide whether (a) to base his answer on his own experience or on a socially accepted stereotype, (b) to base it on his experience/beliefs concerning a specific social sphere (commerce, administration) or his experience/beliefs concerning the whole social structure seen as a unit, and (c) whether to see the lack of bilingualism as wilful or incidental (i.e. whether he interprets "do not speak" as "cannot speak", or "will not speak").

Question 39 is more specific than Question 38 and attempts to define certain areas of social intercourse where a knowledge of L2 may be of definite value. The first two spheres were chosen because specific stereotyped views on the roles of English and Afrikaans in Commerce and in the Civil Service do exist. This question is partly intended to measure the incidence of such stereotypes. The third sphere has been added to study opinions on the role of L2 at a more intimate level, in order to have a more rounded picture of society with which to compare the "personal" experience elicited in Question 38.

The results of these particular questions have been tabulated in Tables B.1 and C.1*. The need for a second language is felt by a large number of respondents (54,6% say they are definitely at a disadvantage, while 27,8% feel they are most probably at a disadvantage: a total of 80,4% then). If asked about the various social spheres, the percentages become 70,1%, 63,2% and 60,0% respectively for Commerce, Administration and social relationships. If the high number of unanswered items are removed, the percentages increase markedly to 77,7%, 74,1% and 67,7% (in the same order). So, generally speaking there seems to be a feeling that the two languages do play an important part as second language in society, *in abstracto* at least.

At the third level, two questions have been asked to ascertain the intensity with which the bilingual idea is suported. Are people prepared to go to the lengths of advocating some official or officially sanctioned measure for

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***Tables identified by a capital letter of the alphabet are contained in Appendix III. Tables identified by a numeral are given in the text.**

propagating bilingualism? The measure decided on falls somewhat into the same category as the first question (Question 31). We asked the respondent whether he was in favour of parents sending their children to schools where the medium of instruction is either the second language, or both the first language and the second language (i.e. a bilingual school). The issue of bilingual education (comprehensively studied by E.G. Malherbe in 1938) eventually ended in a victory for mother-tongue education. The National Education Policy Act, No. 391 of 1967, emphatically forbids the use of the second language as medium*.

With this all the theorizing on the pro's and con's of bilingual schooling seems to have been largely silenced. Nevertheless it still remains the most drastic (and if research in Canada and Ireland is to be accepted, the most effective) means of achieving bilingualism in children, and therefore in society**. It is supposed that, if a respondent feels that bilingual (or second-language) schooling is a good idea it indicates a high intensity in his wish for a bilingual society (although this is impossible in government schools under present legislation). A finding that 84,3% of the sample are in favour of bilingual schooling (Table D.1) would then seem to point to a high rate of earnestness about the need for bilingualism in South Africa, but on the other hand the finding that only 11,9% actually supported second-language schooling places a rider to this: only on an equal basis. The need for knowing the other language is not so great that the first language (the language of identification) is to be sacrificed. So it is definitely a wish for bilingualism, not for the elevation of a second language to a commanding position. This could be the reason why another project (Comm 6), carried out by the Institute for Communications Research of the HSRC, elicited a response of 69,6% in favour of bilingual schooling by using a rather differently phrased question. The stress in this case is on mother-tongue schooling as contrasted to bilingual schooling. Bilingual schooling could suppose a variety of forms in South Africa (cf. Hauptfleisch, 1975, p. 28).

The aim of this section is to assess the stereotyped general and theoretical views held with regard to a bilingual society. To be aware of this is important in order to obviate a very salient objection which may be raised against at least two of the questions discussed: If Questions 31 and 46 are based on impracticable situations, it is not possible that the knowledge that their own suggestions are not likely to be fulfilled would markedly influence attitudes

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*Section 2(c) " ... mother tongue, if it is English or Afrikaans, shall be the medium of instruction, with gradual equitable adjustment to this principle of any existing practice at variance therewith;"

**Cf. W.E. Lambert and G.R. Tucker, 1972; W.F. Mackey, 1972; J. Macnamara, 1966; also Hauptfleisch, 1975, p. 19 ff.

and lead to more extravagant opinions than the respondents are prepared to back up in reality? Quite possibly a tendency of this kind exists, but it is a common fetter associated with all attitude research. The gap between expressed opinions, even on non-contentious subjects, and behaviour, is often quite wide, indicating that one has not touched the more fundamental and necessarily pragmatically ephemeral, motivating "attitude" which is both very personal and created in part by the circumstances of the occasion in which the behavioural action is elicited (cf. Section 2).

The immediate aim is to describe the common *ideology** concerning the bilingual society. In later reports more will be said of certain behaviour-based attitudes of the respondent as individual. It is possible that such an ideology may arise from the personal beliefs of the respondents, and their value systems. Such basic and often inherited convictions would be unquestioningly professed, although often not brough to fruition in life because of external and internal pressures that enforce adaptation, ephemeral as it may be. Could a few items from that core of communal beliefs be revealed, these questions will have served thier purpose.

4. THE FINDINGS

4.1 THE LANGUAGE GROUPS

In this survey the basis variable, the invariable divider, the "traditional polariser" is language. For our total sample the configuration of the four questions is as follows: The bilingual idea is widely accepted, although a majority wish to see it extended to the Bantu. Very few wish to see it limited to a single language (6,1%). This acceptance of the bilingual society seems largely instrumental (over 80% see a need for the second language in society), but a number apparently have some purely ideological reason for supporting bilingualism, an average of only 64,4% having indicated any of the social spheres. However, there is a high general degree of intensity with regards to the need for bilingualism, 4/5ths of the sample considering some form of enforced learning of the second language as desirable. How do the language groups compare on these measures?

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*A term used to indicate what people *say* they think.

TABLE 4.1*

Respondents who:	ESSAs (%)	Afrikaners (%)
Are in favour of two (or more) official languages	90,8	89,3
Feel a need for L2 in their daily lives	77,7	82,7
See a need for L2 in commerce	56,8	93,8
See a need for L2 in the civil service	79,8	69,2
See a need for L2 in social relationships	54,0	78,3
Are in favour of L2 medium schooling	16,6	24,4
Are in favour of bilingual scooling	83,1	85,2

Contrary to expectation, the ESSA respondents and Afrikaans respondents are equally concerned with maintaining the bilingual situation. In fact slightly *more* ESSAs have indicated such a wish, although the difference is not statistically significant. Where Afrikaners are generally speaking more bilingual than the ESSAs**, and are generally presumed to have more need of English, this finding is unexpected. It would suggest a qualitative difference in motivation.

A brief look at the type of bilingualism advocated is revealing:

TABLE 4.2

	ESSAs %	Afrikaners %
Afrikaans/English	37,7	54,7
English/Afrikaans/Bantu	53,1	34,6
	90,8	89,3

There is a highly significant difference between the two groups in this respect. Many more ESSAs embrace a form of trilingualism, showing an awareness of the political/social implications of the language rights of other ethnic groups. Nevertheless a very large percentage of Afrikaners do the same, although the majority are satisfied with the *status quo*. Taking the tendency revealed here as guide, one may hypothesize that the Afrikaners have a more functional motivation for their selection, while the ESSAs tend to make their selection on more ideological grounds (cf. Report No. 3). A look at Table 4.1 confirms this. While both language groups are aware of the roles

*This table is based on Tables A.1, B.1, C.1, D.1

**This sample, for instance, shows that 80,9% Afrikaners and 55,1% ESSAs saw themselves as "good" or "fair" in the second language, while only 0,38% of the Afriners but 7,7% of the ESSAs said they could not speak the other language at all.

played by the two languages (Afrikaners slightly more so than ESSAs), it is only as far as the administration of the country is concerned that the ESSAs seem to feel the need strongly. On the other hand, the Afrikaners feel the need strongly in all spheres, also in the significant sphere of social relationships. Thus this Table seems to lend some confirmation to the often stated opinion that while the Afrikaner *needs* English, the ESSA does not need Afrikaans. The pattern of needs, according to social spheres, conforms largely to the normal stereotyped picture of the social distribution of the language groups (cf. Prinsloo, 1972, p. 77; also Cloete, 1965 and Malherbe, 1966). However, it is important to note that the normal distribution is most marked with respect to Afrikaans (i.e. by the ESSA respondents), while the Afrikaners, though also having a point of concentration in the *commerce* category, are generally very aware of a need for English in *all* spheres.

As for the intensity with which these preferences for bilingualism are felt, there seems to be little difference between the language groups with respect to the bilingual school. It is equally popular with both groups and is a reflection of the general satisfaction with the bilingual system as a whole, notwithstanding differences as to the actual language make-up proposed.

There is quite a large difference between the language groups when one looks at the attitude towards sending children to a second-language medium school, a difference which may point to a greater degree or urgency among the Afrikaners which would lead to their ignoring the possible dangers of schools where the mother-tongue plays no role beyong that of an ordinary subject in the curriculum*. This assumption is linked to the greater need of English, but is rather tenuous and cannot really be followed further here. Nevertheless the group of 191 respondents who wish L2 medium education, presents an interesting phenomenon and ought to be more closely studied, along with another large group which manifested itself with Question 31 (Table A.2): those 91 respondents (5,7%) who wanted only their first language as offical language.

4.2 OTHER BASIC VARIABLES

4.2.1 Sex

*Possible dangers posed by L2 medium schools are, for example, the threat of loss of mother-tongue identity (i.e. language shift), weakening of attitudes on language purity in L1, in the child, or degeneration of L1 proficiency itself.

TABLE 4.3*

Respondents who:	Men %	Women %
Are is favour of two (or more) official languages	88,0	91,5
Feel a need for L2 in their daily lives	81,6	79,0
See a need for L2 in commerce	76,3	78,9
See a need for L2 in the civil service	69,9	77,7
See a need for L2 in social relationships	63,3	71,0
Are in favour of L2 medium schooling	19,1	22,2
Are in favour of bilingual schooling	82,0	86,1

Sex seems to differentiate only slightly among the attitudes, the women tending to be a little more in favour of a bilingual system (also as far as intensity is concerned) and more aware of the need for the second language in all spheres of life, yet less aware of it in their personal lives, if only slightly so. This same correlation is retained if sex differences are examined for each language group separately (cf. Tables A.1, B.1, C.1 and D.1).

In view of the closer ties women have with the education of children (74,0% of the women in the sample are married), a greater awareness of the value of the second language is perhaps to be expected. It is only in the field of commerce that the Afrikaner men have a somewhat greater awareness of the value of English, perhaps because their dealing in "commerce" take place at a different level to that of the women. Women are aware of it either in office contexts (as typists, or serving the public) or in shops, where Afrikaans occurs more often. This supposition finds some support in the responses of the ESSA women, of whom 60,9% found a need for Afrikaans, in contrast to only 51,8% ESSA men. Big business is still English to a large degree, because of its international colour and the preponderance of ESSA businessmen**.

A suggestion would be that women take their own experience as measure to a greater degree than do men, whose profile of "spheres of need" follows the stereotype much more closely than does that of the women. On the other hand, the stereotype could have been formed by the opinions of the men.

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*Based on Tables A.1, B.1, C.1 and D.1.

**_Cf._ the findings of Van der Merwe _et al_, 1974, p. 29, that twice as many ESSA elites as Afrikaner elites are employed in the economic sector.

4.2.2 Age differences

Age differences as far as these responses are concerned are small but, especially if the language groups are considered separately, they point to less enthusiasm for the bilingual idea among the younger age groups (between 18 and 34) of the ESSAs (Tables A.2, B.2, C.2, D.2). This seems to be related to a lower awareness of a need for the second language in the different spheres. Again the trend is most marked amount the ESSA youth between 18 and 24 years of age, and finds reflection in a smaller percentage of support for bilingualism measures such as bilingual schooling. Much of this general trend may be ascribed to inexperience, for example in the different social spheres where their contact with the other language group will not yet have been as extensive as that of the older respondents. However, this does not altogehter explain a quite definite trend found only among the ESSAs and occurring across all three the measures being discussed here. A composite graph has been constructed to visualize this (*vide* Graph 4.1, p. 29).

In most cases there is a gradual increase of "yes" responses with increase in age, up to 55+, when there is a slight drop again. The only exception is the opinions as to the need of Afrikaans in the administration of the country, where the two high concentration points are 25-34 and 55+. Notwithstanding this uneven graph, the least "yes" responses (except for the "personal" question) still come from the 18-24 group, it would appear that there is some link between age and formal opinion as to the need for bilingualism. Graph 4.2 (*vide* p. 30) presents the comparable composite graph for the Afrikaners.

Here there is again an inverted but very slight trend, the young people being no less in favour of bilingualism than, and virtually as in favour of bilingual schooling as, the older generation, with the possible exception of the 55+ group in the latter instance.

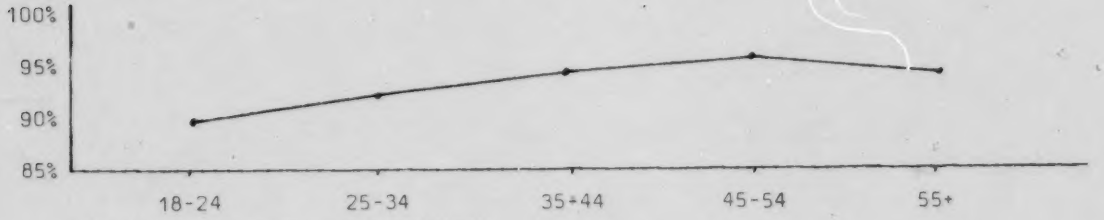
As for the *need* for English, the "personal" pattern is almost a straight line, but the young people do seem to see less need for English in Commerce than do the rest. An interesting trend too is that the 25-34 group and the 55+ group see relatively *more* need for English in the supposedly Afrikaans Administrative section. The differences here are much smaller than for the ESSA's, the Afrikaner group being much less influenced by age differences. If the young people are in fact as in favour of bilingualism as their elders, the constitutional position of the country's two official languages is assured. Of concern, however, is the apparent loss of support among the ESSA youth, if the Graph (4.1) presented is indeed a picture of chronological development of an attitude among South Africans.

GRAPH 4.1* YES-RESPONSES OF THE DIFFERENT AGE-GROUPS

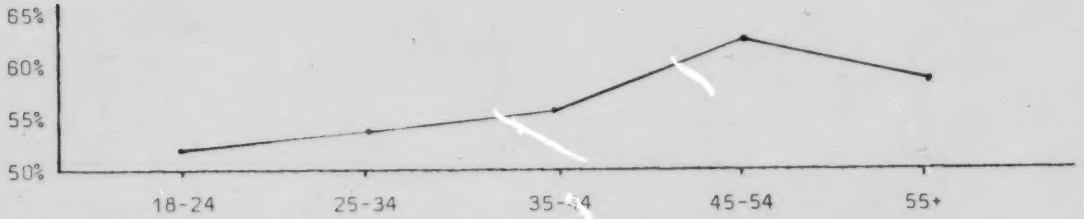
ESSAS

Respondents who:

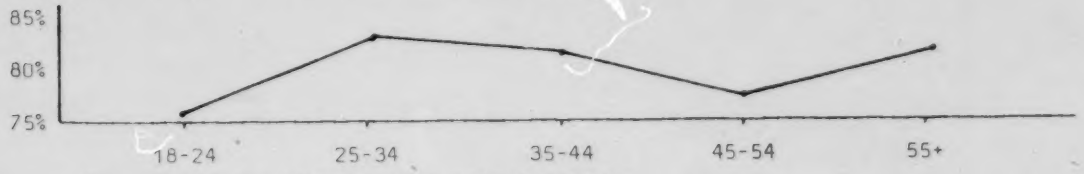
Are in favour of two (or more) official languages



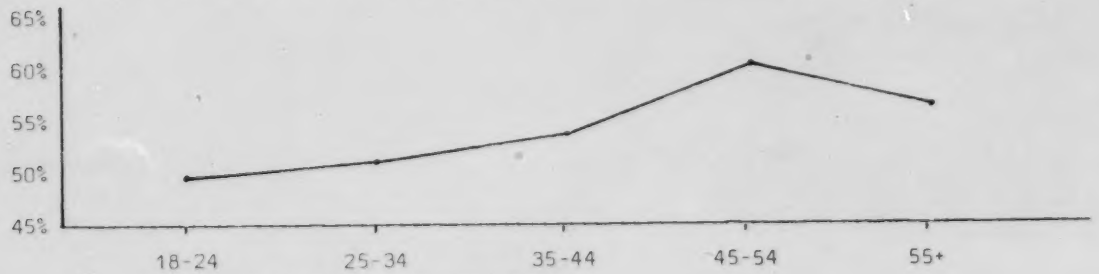
See a need for L2 in commerce



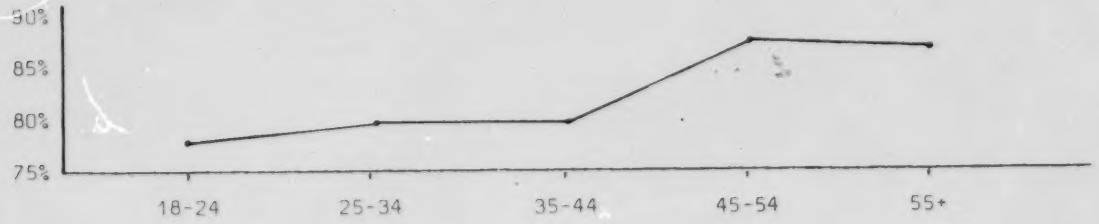
See a need for L2 in the civil service



See a need for L2 in social relationships



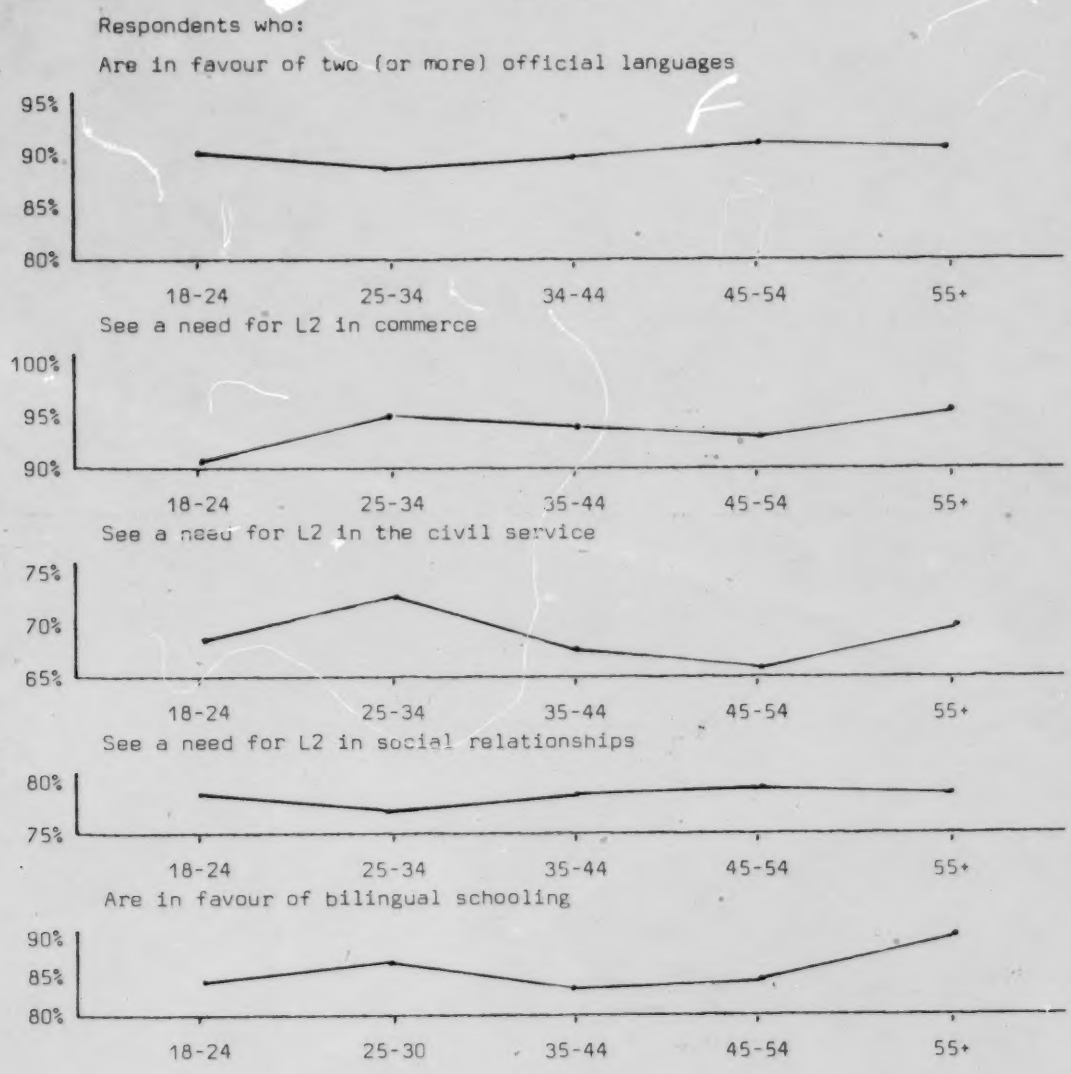
Are in favour of bilingual schooling



*Based on Tables A.2, B.2, C.2 and D.2.

GRAPH 4.2* YES-RESPONSES OF THE DIFFERENT AGE-GROUPS

AFRIKANERS



*Based on Tables A.2, B.2, C.2 and D.2.

It would seem that the older generations, *particularly the 45-54 age group*, but also the 55+ group, are much more highly in favour of bilingualism, and particularly see a much higher instrumental value for Afrikaans than do the young people. They are also highly in favour of bilingual schooling, 10,8% more of the 45-54 group than of the 18-24 group giving positive responses. (The difference is 10,4% in the case of the 55+ group.)

What makes this finding particularly interesting is that this older group by no means considers itself more bilingual than the younger group. Table 4.4 below (based on Table E.1) shows that, on their own assessment of their grammatical ability in Afrikaans (Question 30), the 45+ group places itself on a par with or even slightly lower than the 18-24 group. Bilingualism is highest among the middle age-group (25-44).

TABLE 4.4

THE STANDARD OF PROFICIENCY IN AFRIKAANS GRAMMAR AMONG ESSAs: SELF EVALUATION SCORES

Bilinguality	Age						
	18-24 %	25-34 %	34-44 %	45-54 %	55+ %	Total %	(Bil. score)* %
Good	22,1	27,9	34,3	27,2	16,6	25,2	(20,6)
Average	34,9	42,9	30,7	26,4	31,2	33,3	(34,5)
Poor	39,5	26,5	28,9	41,6	33,7	33,6	(37,4)
Unable to speak L2	3,5	2,9	6,1	4,8	18,5	7,9	(7,6)

So these expressed attitudes are not necessarily related to greater proficiency in the second language. This supposition is to some extent supported by the comparable table concerning the Afrikaners (E.1). The almost undifferentiated concensus previously found in the attitude questions (Table 4.3) is definitely not reflected in the vast differences in proficiency scores for the age groups.

Any of a number of other factors may be seen as affecting this tendency, normal experience provided by maturation being a primary influence. However, the concentration on the 45+ age group of the English suggests an interesting possibility: they were born and raised before 1928, thus they were 10 years

*While this measure is based solely on the self evaluation of grammar proficiency, there is a respectable correlation between the totals of the English group, and those of the complete bilingual score based on grammar and vocabulary (*cf.* Section 2). The percentages of the bilingual measure are given in brackets here. Nevertheless this table must be seen only as a rough indication and nothing more, since the true relation of these self-evaluative questions can only be assessed later in relation to the tape recordings made of respondents' speech samples in English and Afrikaans.

or older at the beginning of the Second World War. At least two probable levelling, pro-bilingualism influences were operating at the time. The first was the comradeship in arms of the two language factions, over an extended period of seven years. The second was the language policies of the Prime Minister, Field Marshal Smuts. It is under his government that the short-lived bilingual schooling experiments (cf. Hauptfleisch, 1975, pp. 19-28) were introduced. His governing party was an amalgamated party formed of the earlier South African Party under Smuts and the National Party under General J.B.M. Hertzog, the first leader of the new United Party. This Party initially had the support of almost all the English and a large percentage of the Afrikaners, which also had a diffusing influence on the strong partisan feelings for Afrikaans or English which are basic to South African history, if only for a while. But shortly after the war was over, the reinstated National Party under Dr D.F. Malan once more campaigned for Afrikaans and the Afrikaner cause. In this way the issue of language affiliation, by equation of the National and Afrikaner cause, became a political issue again. Since then language differences have largely been linked to party politics in the sense that being English has largely supposed allegiance to one of the opposition parties, rather than the ruling party, and *vice versa**. This is to some extent a wholly different trend to that before the Second World War, when language was not necessarily an indicator or party allegiance, the issue being different, although the rights of Afrikaans as a language were heatedly disputed, *particularly among the Afrikaners themselves*.

If this reasoning is accepted, the pre-war generation of ESSAs (45+) was strongly under the influence of an air of co-operation and bilingual striving. The next generation (35+), still under this influence, but living in a world of differing values, slightly more ethnocentric in attitude, while the later generations born to the era of language isolationism, have had less and less contact with L2 and with the bilingual idea. The same progression in not found among Afrikaners, possibly because of a qualitative difference in the motivation for their belief in bilingualism: their belief in it is instrumental, they need English.

This explanation is tendered as a possible historical factor which might have had a significant influence on language attitudes. It is not a definite answer and much more extensive research will be needed to assess its value, but is linked to the much wider international awareness of cultural and national identity, and interest in international contact occasioned by the War.

**Cf.* Van der Merwe *et al*, 1974, pp. 28-29.

This is part of the problem of deciding whether the graph of attitude change along an age-based continuum is to be interpreted as a developmental change in the individual respondent or a generation based change in the attitude of the universum. Both factors could have an influence, but one Table (D.1), points out a remarkable fact: In both language groups there is a significantly larger support for second-language schooling in the older group (55+) than in any of the younger groups. While the number of respondents actually answering this question is small (917), it is important for historical reasons again. The people of 55 years and older went to school in a period when English schools enjoyed a pre-eminence and often the Afrikaners were forced by circumstances or desire to attend them. Along with this (which would not materially influence the attitudes of the English), goes the fact that they would have been 20 or more at the start of the War, thus more aware of and involved in the bilingual schooling attempts to follow, and which were based primarily on the assumption that using the second language as medium would improve proficiency. Again this historical explanation may actually provide some clue to this tendency.

Nevertheless, the influence of such historical factors is a possible topic for future research, and will be returned to again in later reports.

4.2.3 Socio-economic status

Socio-economic status has a marked effect on the opinions respondents hold on the need for bilingualism, as Table 4.5 shows.

TABLE 4.5*

SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

Respondents who:	AFRIKANER			ESSA		
	Upper class %	Middle class %	Lower class %	Upper class %	Middle class %	Lower class %
Are in favour of two (or more) official languages	92,2	89,3	89,6	91,6	95,5	96,9
Feel a need for L2 in their daily lives	88,0	84,3	79,1	80,4	77,1	70,7
See a need for L2 in commerce	94,1	93,5	92,6	44,8	62,4	62,9
See a need for L2 in the civil service	64,3	68,2	76,7	79,3	81,2	74,7
See a need for L2 in social relationships	75,8	80,3	77,0	48,5	56,0	59,1
Are in favour of L2 medium schooling	18,0	27,5	27,0	15,6	16,6	17,7
Are in favour of bilingual schooling	79,6	87,1	90,9	83,6	83,3	84,3

*Based on Tables A.3, B.3, C.3 and D.3.

What is notable is the difference in reaction regarding official bilingualism to be found among the middle and lower classes of the two language groups. Whereas the Afrikaner and ESSA upper class groups both generally express high satisfaction with the *status quo*, the Afrikaner middle and lower classes are somewhat less satisfied, while the ESSA middle and lower classes are exceedingly more satisfied with matters as they are. A mere 3,1% of the latter group do not support the idea of bilingualism in either its limited current form or in the extended form. On the other hand, 6,3% upper class ESSAs are in favour of English as only official language. Among the ESSA respondents in our sample reaction against the bilingual policy is therefore strongest amont the upper class, although there is no great difference between them and the Afrikaner upper class, where 7,0% are in favour of Afrikaans as only official language. The Afrikaner middle and lower classes however are even more strongly in favour of Afrikaans only, 8,8% of the middle class and 5,4% of the lower class choosing that option, and another 0,9% and 2,7% respectively choosing the *Afrikaans plus a Bantu language* option - bringing the totals to 9,7% and 8,1% in these cases.

All in all then, bearing in mind the high percentage of general support (89% plus), the greatest resistance to Afrikaans as second language appears among the ESSA upper class, and the greatest resistance to English as second language appears to be among the Afrikaner middle and lower classes.

Another factor of some interest is brought to light by Table A.3: Graph 4.3 illustrates how differences between Afrikaner and ESSA, with respect to the Afrikaans/English option and the Afrikaans/English/Bantu option, tend to diminish as one moves down the socio-economic scale. In fact it comes to such a point that there is virtually no difference between the two lower class groups, the ESSA respondents being almost as much in favour of A/E as their Afrikaner equivalents (51,5% ESSAs as compared to 55,7% Afrikaners), although there are still 10,3% more ESSAs than Afrikaners who would like the A/E/B option. From this it would appear that the greatest ideological differences between the two language groups are to be found in the upper class, the least in the lower class - a not illogical finding in the light of the educational qualifications for the upper class (matriculation or higher)*.

On viewing the extent to which a need for the second language is felt, a common trend for Afrikaners and ESSAs manifests itself. In both cases there is a direct relation between the status and the extent to which an awareness of a need for the second language in the respondent's personal life is expressed. The higher the socio-economic status of the group, the more respondents feel that they place themselves at a disadvantage if they do not speak the second language.

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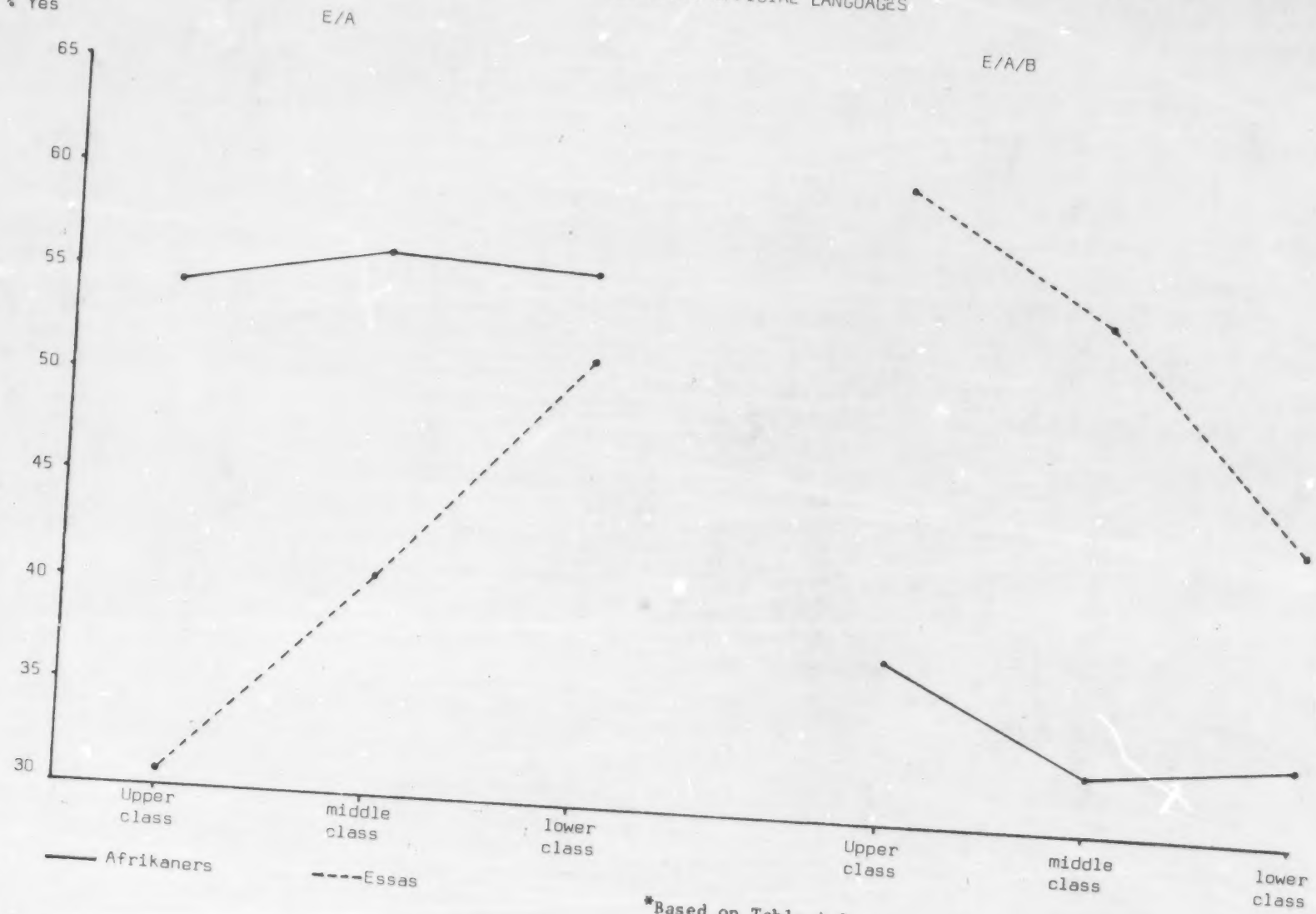
*As determined by the socio-economic status index, cf. 2.3.1.

GRAPH 4.3* RESPONDENTS WHO ARE IN FAVOUR OF TWO (OR MORE) OFFICIAL LANGUAGES



*Based on Table A.3.

While this is most probably related to a greater degree of social mobility among the upper classes, the same pattern is not to be found when the various social spheres suggested in the questionnaire are studied. Except for the sphere of *commerce*, where the upper class Afrikaners feel the greatest need, (although the other two classes are not far behind), the upper classes, both Afrikaner and ESSA, feel less of a need for L2 in the various spheres than do the middle and lower classes. With the ESSA group, the upper class feels the greatest need for Afrikaans to be in the *administration* sector, in accordance with the previously noted stereotyped views of the two language groups.

The most interesting of these responses are those to the *social* category. According to Table 4.5 it is particularly the Afrikaner middle class (80,3%) and the ESSA lower class (59,1%) who feel that their second language is of use to them in the social sphere. Thus the second language has a more functional value for the upper classes, *commerce* for the Afrikaners and *administration* for the ESSAs, rather than social value. Social contact between the two groups is thus most likely among the middle and lower classes, the upper classes apparently being more polarized.

As for the intensity of the desire for bilinguality, support is high and general accross all classes for both language groups. The greatest support for the bilingual schooling is found among the lower classes, particularly the Afrikaner lower class. This finding, that the Afrikaner upper class is least in favour of bilingual schooling is most likely related to the fact that the upper class normally has a higher educational qualification and is not as dependent on "easy" means of acquiring bilingualism. The upper class is quite possibly also more concerned with education as a means of acquiring knowledge, and would thus be more persuaded of the virtues of mother-tongue instruction. On the other hand, with the ESSAs social class plays no role regarding the responses to these matters. Because of their more positive feelings about bilingualism *in abstracto* (4.1), all ESSAs would no doubt see bilingual schooling as the most obvious means of achieving bilingualism, the dangers notwithstanding*. In fact, because English is seldom seen as being threatened with extinction, the ESSA is little likely to fear a cultural shift merely because of exposure to the local language Afrikaans. And that, in the end, is possibly the basic objection the Afrikaner theoretically has to bilingual schooling: overexposure to the English culture. (A not ungrounded attitude, as Report No. 4 will shows.) As this table shows, these fears are apparently not shared by the large majority of Afrikaners or ESSAs.

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*Proponents of unilingual schooling have projected much the same dangers for bilingual schooling as those mentioned for L2 medium schooling. (Cf. Footnote on p. 26.)

Socio-economic class thus has a strong influence on opinions about bilingualism. While the upper classes are well in favour of bilingualism (in limited or extended form), and feel the need for bilingualism in their personal lives strongly, they also adhere strongly to the stereotyped views of the spheres in which the second language is needed, yet do not find as much need for the second language in the various spheres as do the other class groups. On the other hand, the lower classes find less personal need for the second language and there is less differentiation between the needs in the various spheres, as far as they are concerned.

Awareness of the functional value and the roles played by the second language is greatest among the upper classes, although support for the current bilingual situation is not necessarily wholehearted in all cases.

4.2.4 Bilinguality*

Besides language identity, bilinguality is the variable most directly related to differences in language attitudes. Table 4.6 demonstrates how support for bilingualism increases as bilinguality increases. And this holds true for all the questions discussed in this section, as well as for both language groups. It is only that group of ESSA respondents unable to speak Afrikaans who fall outside this pattern as far as the three questions on the spheres of needs are concerned.

While that group does not feel as much personal need for the second language (71,4%), it does support the stereotyped idea of the extent to which the second language is needed in the various spheres to a larger degree than all others except the *good* group. This is most probably owing to the fact that they cannot speak of personal experience as much as one who can at least use *some* Afrikaans, and therefore have to rely on relayed stereotypes to answer the question.

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*As defined in Section 2.3.2.

TABLE 4.6*

BILINGUALITY AND OPINIONS ABOUT BILINGUALISM

Respondents who:	AFRIKANER				ESSA			
	Good %	Fair %	Weak %	Not+ %	Good %	Fair %	Weak %	Not %
Are in favour of two (or more) official languages	92,7	90,0	88,8	66,7	96,9	92,8	93,1	91,7
Feel a need for L2 in their daily lives	89,8	85,6	76,7	33,3	84,9	79,7	76,8	71,4
See a need for L2 in commerce	96,7	94,5	87,2	50,0	60,3	58,1	51,6	57,7
See a need for L2 in the civil service	68,1	69,4	64,6	50,0	81,8	78,9	78,6	86,1
See a need for L2 in social relationships	81,2	80,7	62,2	50,0	63,3	51,3	49,1	60,9
Are in favour of L2 medium schooling	24,7	24,0	16,5	0,0	22,4	15,6	16,1	3,0
Are in favour of bilingual schooling	87,2	85,2	76,1	66,7	88,6	84,5	80,5	72,3

This Table immediately raises a very important issue which the data of this survey are unable to resolve: In what way are these two aspects, bilinguality and attitudes, related? Do negative attitudes lead to lower proficiency, or does the standard of proficiency rather influence the quality of the attitudes? Much more intensive experimental work will be needed to answer that question, but the present data do point to a definite correlation between more positive attitudes and high proficiency (at least by own assessment).

Another possible factor is also pinpointed by Table 4.6, particularly the questions on the need for L2. Because the needs of the respondent are determined by his own interests and the type of society in which he lives, the *weak* L2 speaker most likely does not *need* more than a smattering of L2 for his normal use, so he is unlikely to improve. By the same token he will see less of a general need for L2 than the respondent who is *fair* or *good* (and could thus have more opportunity for speaking L2). This factor would then presume a strong link between language environment, language attitudes and language proficiency, a matter to be taken up in the following report.

*Based on Tables A.4, B.4, C.4 and D.4 in Appendix III.

+N only 4 in this group.

4.2.5 Language milieu

Language milieu is a blanket term used to indicate the role played by the respondent's social environment on his language use and usage at three distinct periods of his life. As pointed out in Section 2, three stages of linguistic and attitudinal influence are distinguished: language background (up to 18 years of age), language experience (the period between childhood and the present), and language environment (the present position). Tables 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9 provide data in this respect.

TABLE 4.7*

LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

(Language environment as child)

AFRIKANER

Respondents who:	Home language was L1 but often spoke L2 outside the home %	Home language was L1 but occasionally spoke L2 outside the home %	Home language was L2 and never spoke L2 outside the home %	Home language was both L1 & L2 and often spoke L2 outside the home %	Home language was both L1 & L2 and occasionally spoke L2 outside the home %	Home language was L2 and often spoke L2 outside the home %
Are in favour of two (or more) official languages	92,4	90,5	84,0	97,4	90,0	100,0
Feel a need for L2 in their daily lives	88,2	85,3	75,9	89,5	72,7	66,7
See a need for L2 in commerce	95,1	93,2	92,2	94,4	100,0	100,0
See a need for L2 in the civil service	72,8	67,0	65,3	80,7	57,1	50,0
See a need for L2 in social relationships	82,4	78,4	69,2	88,6	87,5	50,0
Are in favour of L2 medium schooling	32,7	19,9	16,3	22,2	25,0	100,0
Are in favour of bilingual schooling	88,7	84,0	74,1	92,3	80,0	100,0
Possible N	264	337	153	40	11**	3**

*Based on Tables A.5, B.5, C.5 and D.5.

**The N too small for significance to be attached to these results.

TABLE 4.7 *

LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

(Language environment as child)

ESSA

Respondents who:	Home language was L1 but often spoke L2 outside the home %	Home language was L1 but occasionally spoke L2 outside the home %	Home language was L2 and never spoke L2 outside the home %	Home language was both L1 & L2 and often spoke L2 outside the home %	Home language was both L1 & L2 and occasionally spoke L2 outside the home %	Home language was L2 and often spoke L2 outside the home %
Are in favour of two (or more) official languages	95,5	95,3	87,4	100,0	77,0	92,7
Feel a need for L2 in their daily lives	90,8	78,1	70,5	78,1	62,3	82,5
See a need for L2 in commerce	60,0	51,9	49,3	82,1	75,0	43,2
See a need for L2 in the civil service	78,9	80,3	76,6	87,2	91,7	75,7
See a need for L2 in social relationships	55,3	48,3	44,4	73,7	69,2	59,0
Are in favour of L2 medium schooling	13,0	18,8	8,2	27,3	0,0	22,7
Are in favour of bilingual schooling	90,7	80,3	77,9	84,6	84,6	87,5
Possible N	111	197	158	41	13**	41

There are three types of language background, distinguishable by the language identity of the parents (Table 4.7), namely (a) both parents are L1; (b) one parent is L2, the other L2; (c) both parents are L2. Each of these types can further be typified by the extent to which they were exposed to L2 in early life (*i.e.* before 18 years of age).

*Based on Tables A.5, B.5, C.5 and D.5.

**The N too small for significance to be attached to these results.

In our sample, group (a) represents the majority of respondents (1 220 = 89% of respondents), therefore much of our concern will lie with that group. This group, (the first three columns in Table 4.7) quite clearly supports the hypothesis raised in the previous Section: the more opportunities a person has had for speaking L2, the more likely he is to have positive attitudes towards bilingualism and the second language in particular, and the more likely he is to feel a need for L2 both in his personal life, and in society. Attitudes towards bilingual schooling are also markedly influenced by the extent of contact the respondent has had with L2, the group which has had plenty of contact being most clearly in favour of bilingual schooling. The question of the stage of life at which such contact has the most effect on attitudes will be further considered when discussing Table 4.8.

Group (b), the next two columns in Table 4.7, illustrates another predictable aspect of language background. The language identity of the parents is apparently of some importance, since this group, coming from a mixed background, is more in favour of bilingualism than the comparable respondents in group (a). (Only the group who *often* had L2 contact outside are compared for the moment, the other bilingual group being unsuitable for this purpose because of the small total N involved.) While Afrikaners in this group also show a greater need for L2, ESSAs do not seem to feel as strongly about it. However, the responses of both language groups of this background deviate quite considerably from the general stereotypes for the various social spheres. In fact they consistently see a great need for L2 in society. Particularly important is the high percentage of ESSAs in this group who find Afrikaans necessary for social relationships. This awareness of the need for bilingualism is further stressed by strong support for bilingual schooling. A bilingual home background thus, predictably, is more likely to dispose a respondent to a positive attitude than a unilingual home background - other things being equal.

The last group, (c), is a somewhat unique case, the respondents represented here having undergone a language shift. Their parents were L2, and their environment rich in L2 contacts, yet they chose L1 as language of identity. A full discussion of this group will follow in Report No. 4. Here we are simply concerned about the opinions such people hold about bilingualism and the need for L2 (their original L1). We deal only with the large ESSA group, the three Afrikaners who had undergone such a shift being too few to allow any significance to be attached to their responses. As may be expected, this group of respondents is quite strongly in favour of bilingualism, and they see considerable personal need for L2 in their own lives and for the purposes of social relationships. However, they see less need for Afrikaans (their L2) in commerce and administration than any of the groups. In view of the fact that they chose English as language of identity rather than Afrikaans, this

belief that Afrikaans has little functional value will no doubt tend to be more strongly defended by this group than any other. Report No. 4 will pay more attention to this possibility.

Language background then has two possible ways of influencing language attitudes: through the role played by the language of the home, that is the language identity of the parents; and through the language contact outside school during childhood and adolescence. The former influence is strong, but reasonably uniform in South Africa, intermarriages being relatively few. Much more prevalent, and accordingly potentially more influential, is the degree of L2 contact to which the respondent is exposed at various periods in his life. Table 4.8 provides further available data in this respect.

TABLE 4.8

LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE (I.E. PERIOD OF CONTACT WITH L2)

Respondents who:	AFRIKANER				ESSA			
	Whole period	Up to 18	18+	Never	Whole period	Up to 18	18+	Never
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Are in favour of two (or more) official languages	92,5	95,8	85,9	83,3	95,0	96,3	88,2	85,1
Feel a need for L2 in their daily lives	87,9	77,1	81,9	68,7	82,6	55,5	75,7	68,8
See a need for L2 in commerce	93,8	97,7	96,0	86,4	59,5	34,8	55,7	51,5
See a need for L2 in the civil service	68,4	79,6	65,2	60,0	80,7	75,0	82,7	77,6
See a need for L2 in social relationships	79,9	82,6	72,9	59,5	56,7	40,0	48,8	47,8
Are in favour of L2 medium schooling	25,3	31,0	22,0	12,9	18,8	6,3	9,8	6,7
Are in favour of bilingual schooling	85,8	88,6	76,6	66,7	84,8	87,0	86,6	66,7

Table 4.8 introduces four stages at which the respondent could have been exposed to L2 contact, namely: during the whole period from childhood to the present (1); up to 18 years of age (2); from 18 years of age to the present (3); and at no time during that period (4). From this one finds that,

*Based on Tables A.6, B.6, C.6, D.6.

particularly among Afrikaners, there is a tendency for the early period to seem the most influential. With the ESSAs there appears a tendency for the later period (3) to have quite a strong influence as well, as far as the needs are concerned, but basically it is the fact of contact that is important, early or late. The greatest difference between early and late contact is found, naturally enough, in the feeling about the personal need for L2. Here later contact, or contact during the whole period, has a greater influence than early contact. This is most probably so because a person who has lately had close contact with L2 would be more prone to be still in need of it, while those who only had such contact earlier, are more likely to have moved into circles where they do not need the language as much anymore. Among the ESSA group with early contact a feeling that L2 is not all that necessary is found for all three social spheres as well, but not among the Afrikaners of the same group. In fact quite the opposite is true.

So, while early contact seems to be an important factor with Afrikaners, it is less so with ESSAs, who are apparently just as often influenced by later contact, but most particularly by contact throughout the whole period.

Perhaps early contact is important among Afrikaners because of the cultural roles that Afrikaans and English have for the Afrikaners. One could hypothesize: Early contact, at the period of most impressionability would counteract resistance to all that is "English" or "foreign", a notion at times fostered by some cultural bodies and even teachers in the interests of "preserving" Afrikaans (*cf.* Report No. 4). Language attitudes, along with various ethnic, religious, political and social conceptions, are thus at this state inculcated in the value system of the average Afrikaner. On the other hand, the ESSA has a more functional approach to Afrikaans (*cf.* Report No. 3), and an awareness of that role is fostered more in later years, in the everyday world of business and adulthood, than in childhood.

Whatever the reasons, the differences are relatively small. The clearest finding remains that those who have had any form of contact with L2, are clearly more in favour of bilingualism (particularly if the contact has been early) and feel a much greater need for it, than those who have not.

We may also briefly look at the influence of the respondent's present environment on his language attitudes. Table 4.9 proposes nine possible forms of language environment (*cf.* Section 2.3.3). Of this nine, the last three forms are rare and therefore not of real value here, so we shall concentrate on the first six.

TABLE 4.9*

LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT (I.E. TYPE AND FREQUENCY OF CONTACT WITH L2)

Respondents who:		Never have contact with L2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L2	Often have casual conversations in L2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L2	Occasionally have serious conversations in L2	Often have serious conversations in L2	Often have serious and occasionally casual conversations in L2
Are in favour of two (or more) official languages	Afr.	86,9	88,3	90,5	93,0	93,3	92,8	50,0	25,0	94,1
	ESSA	84,7	94,6	93,1	100,0	94,1	97,2	100,0	100,0	91,7
Feel a need for L2 in their daily lives	Afr.	58,3	81,4	82,2	87,8	91,9	93,8	80,0	75,0	91,2
	ESSA	66,7	75,2	90,9	74,4	86,3	87,0	50,0	100,0	84,7
See a need for L2 in commerce	Afr.	86,7	97,3	91,7	87,5	97,2	97,3	100,0	100,0	100,0
	ESSA	49,6	48,1	60,7	55,6	52,9	69,7	50,0	100,0	40,0
See a need for L2 in the civil service	Afr.	64,2	74,5	61,8	62,3	65,7	75,6	75,0	100,0	67,9
	ESSA	74,1	81,4	84,7	71,4	76,5	84,6	50,0	100,0	81,8
See a need for L2 in social relationships	Afr.	60,3	76,7	79,4	75,9	81,4	82,4	80,0	100,0	76,7
	ESSA	41,9	45,4	62,7	65,7	50,0	65,9	0,0	100,0	54,6
Are in favour of L2 medium schooling	Afr.	14,8	22,1	23,5	33,3	16,2	28,6	0,0	0,0	26,7
	ESSA	7,6	16,4	16,7	17,9	8,8	28,1	0,0	0,0	0,0
Are in favour of bilingual schooling	Afr.	75,6	88,9	77,4	83,0	87,1	89,0	80,0	33,3	87,5
	ESSA	71,9	86,2	80,7	88,2	82,7	88,5	100,0	100,0	84,6
Possible N	Afr.	84	163	148	58	74	195	6**	4**	34
	ESSA	131	171	88	40	52	140	2**	1**	12**

*Based on Tables A.7, B.7, C.7 and D.7.

**These totals are too small for significant deductions to be possible.

The first form is that where the respondent has no contact at all with the second language. From the findings of the foregoing Tables (4.6, 4.7 and 4.8), one would presume that this group would be at least enthusiastic about bilingualism and, particularly, would feel the least need for L2, since they have little real contact with it. Table 4.9 confirms this supposition. This group, both Afrikaners and ESSAs, clearly and consistently is less enthusiastic about bilingualism, feels less need for L2, and is less in favour of bilingua-schooling than the other groups.

As for the other groups, the degree to which the respondents have opportunities for speaking L2 does seem to be related to their views on the bilingual policy, although the pattern does not reveal a direct correspondence between opinions and exposure to L2. This holds true for most of the items in Table 4.9. Two factors seem to be influential, the degree of exposure (occasionally/often) and the type of conversation (casual/serious).

Perhaps the clearest example of how these factors function is to be had in the question on the personal need for the second language. Since the question of needs would be the one most pertinently related to present language contact, one would expect the clearest correspondence in this sphere.

As far as the Afrikaners are concerned, the degree of exposure most effectively correlates with extent to which a personal need for L2 is expressed. On the other hand, the type of conversation is the more important of the two factors among ESSAs. While between 74% and 76% of the ESSAs who have casual conver-sations feel a need for L2, more than 86% of those who have any form of serious conversation feel the same way. With the other questions no such clear pattern reveals itself.

Perhaps the explanation for the difference in pattern between the Afrikaner and ESSA responses is once more likely to lie in the difference in their needs for the other language (*cf.* Report No. 3). The ESSA largely finds Afrikaans useful for functional reasons, and thus for *serious* purposes. Casual conver-sation is no real *need*. On the other hand, there is a much more ideological need for English among Afrikaners, and even the extent of casual contact would be likely to influence his views on his personal need for the language.

With the other question no such clear pattern manifests itself, local factors of another type most probably exerting a stronger influence than the present language environment.

4.2.6 Regional differences

Lastly, a brief look at Table 4.10 points to some regional differences in the responses. In this Table a number of the larger metropolitan areas have been isolated for closer study. At the bottom of the Table a rough estimate of each city's "language colour", computed from the 1960 Census returns, is provided. The numerals indicate the percentage of Afrikaans-speaking inhabitants living in the city. Should we first of all compare Pretoria and Johannesburg as representing an *Afrikaans* community and an *English* community respectively, we find that Johannesburg has a slightly higher preference for bilingualism, although the ratio of Afrikaner to ESSA remains about the same for both cities. Exactly the same is true of the *needs*, the respondents, both Afrikaner and ESSA in Johannesburg having a greater need of L2 than those in Pretoria. However, while the Pretoria ESSA logically sees more need for Afrikaans in commerce than the ESSA in Johannesburg, no similar difference exists among the Afrikaners. Likewise the ESSA in Pretoria sees much more social need for Afrikaans than the Johannesburg ESSA. On the other hand, the Pretoria Afrikaner, strangely, sees more need for English in the Administrative sector than his compatriot in Johannesburg. This difference is small however. As for attitudes towards bilingual schooling, the differences between the two cities are extremely large, the Pretorians being highly in favour of bilingual schooling, even L2 schooling, in contrast to the Johannesburgers who are more emphatically set against such schooling than any other group. In other words, while bilingualism is theoretically supported by Johannesburg residents, officially sanctioned efforts to promote bilingualism are far from popular. In view of this finding the opposition faced by action groups for language rights in Johannesburg (*cf.* Report No. 4) is not surprising, and the continual concern with the language situation in the city is understandable.

To concentrate more clearly on regional differences, let us draw two final comparisons: between Pretoria and Bloemfontein (both approximately 4/5ths Afrikaans), and between Johannesburg and Cape Town (both approximately 2/3rds English).

TABLE 4.10*

AREA WHERE RESIDENT

Respondents who:	Pta.	Vaal Triang.	Jhb.	Bfn.	Natal	Kby.	E. Cape	Cape
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Are in favour of two (or more) official languages	86,1 93,6	87,3 100,0	89,0 95,8	85,0 93,8	100,0 92,1	100,0 100,0	96,4 93,5	90,1 91,1
Feel a need for L2 in their daily lives	83,8 75,0	75,8 85,7	85,3 79,3	82,3 81,3	100,0 77,2	84,6 83,3	85,8 73,1	86,7 79,5
See a need for L2 in commerce	96,5 62,1	94,6 71,4	95,8 50,3	96,5 87,5	100,0 53,5	100,0 60,0	95,7 60,3	94,0 56,4
See a need for L2 in the civil service	77,0 82,1	61,2 83,3	72,9 81,0	68,5 93,8	75,0 80,0	100,0 66,7	83,3 76,8	74,7 79,3
See a need for L2 in social relationships	78,7 58,6	76,5 50,0	80,4 48,5	70,7 62,5	80,0 51,5	100,0 70,0	84,8 62,7	84,2 51,5
Are in favour of L2 medium schooling	25,6 22,2	30,0 33,3	14,0 14,4	20,7 30,0	20,0 10,0	50,0 0,0	26,7 19,1	20,6 15,8
Are in favour of bilingual schooling	85,0 96,7	89,3 100,0	75,9 73,9	88,9 86,7	81,8 81,6	100,0 45,5	88,9 85,3	96,3 91,2
Possible N Afr.	160	63	157	64	12**	14**	56	91
ESSA	32	8**	171	16**	106	12**	78	151
Language colour (% of Afrikaners)	77,6	76,2	31,6	80,6	15,2 (Dbn)	60,8	40,6	35,2

The two "Afrikaans" cities differ very little in their view of the present bilingual situation, both language groups being strongly in favour of a bilingual system, the ESSAs in both cases being far more positive than the Afrikaners. It is interesting to note that this difference between Afrikaners and ESSAs is found only in Transvaal and the Orange Free State. No such difference is found in either the Eastern Cape or Cape Town. On the other hand, the highest number of votes for *Afrikaans only* were found in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Bloemfontein, with a mere 1,8% in the Eastern Cape and 5,5% in Cape Town***. A noteworthy difference between the ESSAs of the two Afrikaans-coloured cities lies in their need for the second language. The ESSAs in Pretoria apparently have less need of Afrikaans than their fellows in Bloemfontein, where both Afrikaner and ESSA seem to need the second language to an equal degree. This situation is most clear in the spheres of commerce and administration, and even to a lesser degree in social situations. The ESSA in Pretoria is apparently less dependent on Afrikaans than the ESSA in Bloemfontein, while the Afrikaner in Pretoria even finds some greater need for English, particularly in the administration and social life.

*Based on Tables A.8, B.8, C.8, D.8.

**These totals are too small for significant deductions to be possible.

***Cf. Table A.8.

As for the intensity of the desire for bilinguality, the Bloemfontein Afrikaners are somewhat more in favour of bilingual schooling than the Pretoria Afrikaners, but the Pretoria ESSAs are by far the most keen on bilingual schooling, more so than in any other city. Apparently the cosmopolitan character of Pretoria, and the proximity of the even more cosmopolitan Johannesburg, does have an anglicising influence, or at least leads to a less authoritative Afrikaans presence.

Comparing Johannesburg and Cape Town we find that there are few differences in the responses of the Afrikaners from the two cities. They all have a definite wish for bilingualism as it is, have a strong need for English (85%-86%), particularly in commerce, but also for social purposes. It is only in their attitude to bilingual schooling that they differ, the Johannesburg Afrikaners being much less enthusiastic about it than the Cape Afrikaners, who in fact are far more enthusiastic than any other Afrikaner group, and any ESSA group barring the Pretoria ESSA group.

So it would appear that while ideology and needs of the Afrikaner groups concur, on the level of practical implementation or confrontation there is a vast difference between Johannesburg (or Pretoria, for that matter) Afrikaners and Cape Town Afrikaners. Language clashes therefore are more likely to occur in metropolitan Transvaal, the Cape being more tolerant in such matters.

As for the ESSA groups, the same overall pattern applies, although the Johannesburg group is somewhat more in favour of bilingualism, while the Cape group feels slightly more need for Afrikaans in the various spheres, particularly commerce. Once again however, the Johannesburg group is significantly less interested in bilingual schooling than the Cape group. So what was said of the Afrikaner groups holds true for the ESSAs as well: While both groups are in favour of bilingualism in theory, and have a definite need for Afrikaans, there is a difference in the attitudes of Johannesburg (and Pretoria) respondents and Cape Town respondents towards bilingual schooling, *i.e.* the level of practical implementation or direct action to promote bilingualism.

Because of these differences, and others to be noted in later reports in this series, it is possible to hypothesize here that language clashes are more likely to occur - as they indeed do - in metropolitan Transvaal than in the Cape. Language issues are quite simply more relevant to Transvaal respondents, language contact more fraught with attitudinal, political and economic overtones, than they are to respondents in the Cape.

5. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This report is intended to assess feelings about the need for bilingualism and the need for Afrikaans and English, as felt by the general public.

A series of questions (31, 38, 39 and 46) studies opinions about the need for two official languages, the personal need for L2, the social sphere in which such needs exist, and feelings about bilingual schooling.

The most important finding has been this: The bilingual policy of the RSA is not only necessary for the daily business of this country, but it is strongly supported by almost all the respondents interviewed. Thus it would appear that there are basically few differences between the language groups concerning a wish for bilingualism or a personal need for L2. However in studying the *type* of bilingualism espoused and the spheres of need, a marked difference in attitude between Afrikaner and ESSA appears. The latter are much more in favour of an extended form of multilingualism (Afrikaans/English/Bantu language). The two language groups also confirm the traditionally held stereotyped views concerning the social spheres in which L2 is needed (English in Commerce, Afrikaans in the Administration). Perhaps the other important finding is this: The Afrikaner needs English more than the ESSA needs Afrikaans. Thus the motivations for speaking and preferring L2 differ markedly for the two language groups. (And such motivation will be taken up again in the second-last report in this series.)

While sex differences have little differentiating influence, age differences also suggest an important factor in South African language attitudes, namely somewhat less support for bilingualism among the ESSA yough than among the Afrikaner youth. It also points to a possible historical explanation for the current attitude patterns.

Socio-economic status has a strong influence on opinion regarding bilingualism. Awareness of the functional value and the roles played by L2 is greatest among the upper classes, although support for the current bilingual situation is not necessarily whole-hearted, particularly among the ESSA upper and Afrikaner lower classes. The reasons for this difference in ideology are quite probably seated in the status values ascribed to the languages by the various social groups, while the need patterns are dictated by the functional social roles of the language.

It is also important to note here that the data seem to indicate that social contact between the two language groups is most likely among the middle and lower classes, the upper classes appearing less dependent on the issue of the social value of L2, finding it rather a functional tool than a private one.

Bilinguality is one of the clearest differentiators of attitudes, along with language identity, a direct relationship existing between degree of bilinguality and positive attitudes towards bilingualism and L2. However, the question

remains: What is the original cause: proficiency or attitudes? A strong link is therefore hypothesized between language environment, language attitude and language proficiency.

Taking language background as variable, a great deal of support is given to this hypothesis: The more contact a respondent has had with L2, the more positive are his reactions to the measures in the chapter. And even more powerful is a bilingual home background, which is found to be, predictably, more likely to dispose a respondent to a positive attitude than a unilingual background - other things being equal. However, the former influence is much more prevalent and thus, ultimately, more influential.

As for the time in life when contact with L2 was had, there appears to be a slight indication that early contact is more influential among Afrikaners, while later contact, and particularly contact throughout the whole period, seems to influence ESSA attitudes to a greater degree than early contact. The explanation for this phenomenon is most probably to be sought in the difference in motivation to be found among Afrikaners and ESSAs. The the former, attitudes towards L2 are a part of the greater Afrikaner value system within which language plays a major role (as do religion and politics). Such a system is established early in life, whatever the actual pattern may be. To the ESSA language is a more functional and pragmatically considered aspect of daily life. Thus, later contact would be more likely to influence present attitudes.

The influence of present contact with L2 is not as clear as with language background, but degree and kind of contact does exert an influence, particularly as the expression of a need for L2. Two factors are operative, the degree of exposure to L2, which most markedly influences Afrikaner attitudes, and the type of exposure (casual or serious conversation) which is the discriminating factor among ESSAs, the serious conversation being more conducive of positive attitudes. This difference too is most likely ascribable to the differences in motivation between the language groups (*cf.* Report No. 3).

As for regional differences, the basic finding is that language feelings run higher in Transvaal, and particularly in Johannesburg, than in any other area of South Africa. Language issues are quite simply more relevant to Transvaal respondents, language contact being more fraught with attitudinal, political and economic overtones, engendered by such factors as the proximity of two cities representing opposing values, the historical influences and the presence of numerous activist cultural bodies.

This report has thus revealed a gratifying picture of uniform satisfaction with the bilingual/multilingual nature of South African language policy, but has underlined the basic multicultural nature of and differences within the society. The language groups are polarised on a number of fundamental issues, also

their opinions of bilingualism in South Africa. The reports to follow (Nos. 2-4) will serve to reinforce this view, while studying the details of such differences and the possible motivational factors behind them.

APPENDIX I

THE SURVEY SAMPLE (N = 1 607)

		N	%
1.	The language groups		
	Afrikaans-speaking	918	57,1
	English-speaking	689	42,9
2.	Sex		
	Male	703	43,8
	Female	904	56,3
3.	Marital State		
	Married	1 230	76,5
	Unmarried	242	15,1
	Divorced	37	2,3
	Widow/Widower	95	5,9
4.	Age		
	18 - 24	234	14,6
	25 - 34	387	24,1
	35 - 44	342	21,3
	45 - 54	311	19,4
	55 - 64	217	13,5
	65 and more	116	7,2
5.	Occupation		
	Retired, student, housewife	639	39,8
	Professional, technical	215	13,4
	Administrative	44	2,7
	Clerical	330	20,5
	Sales	127	7,9
	Mines	14	0,9
	Transport and communication	16	1,0
	Artisans	169	10,5
	Services	48	3,0
	Unknown	5	0,3

		N	%
6.	Income		
	Less than R2 000	98	6,9
	R2 000 - R3 000	156	11,0
	R3 000 - R4 000	189	13,3
	R4 000 - R5 000	193	13,6
	R5 000 - R6 000	173	12,2
	R6 000 - R7 000	170	12,0
	R7 000 - R8 000	117	8,2
	R8 000 - R9 000	85	6,0
	R9 000 - R10 000	68	4,8
	R10 000 - R11 000	43	3,0
	R11 000 - R12 000	44	3,1
	R12 000 - R14 000	35	2,5
	R14 000 - R16 000	16	1,1
	R16 000 - R18 000	7	0,5
	R18 000 and more	26	1,8

A P P E N D I X I I

THE QUESTIONNAIRE :

THE USE OF ENLISH AND AFRIKAANS IN THE URBAN AREAS OF SOUTH AFRICA

INSTITUTE FOR LANGUAGES, LITERATURE AND ARTS

INVESTIGATION INTO THE USE OF ENGLISH AND AFRIKAANS IN SOUTH AFRICA

In the letter which you received from the HSRC the aim of the languages survey was briefly explained and your kind co-operation requested.

Thank you very much for being willing to help with this important research project. We would like to reaffirm that the information you give in the questionnaire and during the short interview to follow will remain strictly confidential.

Should you encounter any problems in answering the questionnaire, please mention this to the research worker.

Thank you,

Directions: In the case of each question, cross the number (in the box) of the answer which applies to you. Where the question does not apply to you (e.g. if you do not have any children and something is asked concerning your children) leave it unanswered, and proceed to the next question.

A LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

1 What is/was the mother tongue of your grandparents:

(a) Paternal (i.e. father's parents)?

	English	Afrikaans	Eng. and Afr.	Another language	Do not know	
Grandfather	1	2	3	4	5	1
Grandmother	1	2	3	4	5	2

(b) Maternal (i.e. mother's parents)?

	English	Afrikaans	Eng. and Afr.	Another language	Do not know	
Grandfather	1	2	3	4	5	3
Grandmother	1	2	3	4	5	4

2 What is/was the most important language for the following of your relatives (i.e. their language identity):

	English	Afrikaans	Another language	
(a) Your father?	1	2	3	5
(b) Your mother?	1	2	3	6
(c) Your husband/wife?	1	2	3	7
(d) Your own children? (The four eldest)	1	2	3	8
	1	2	3	9
	1	2	3	10
	1	2	3	11

3 As a child, did you speak Afrikaans outside the classroom:

	Yes, often	Yes, occasionally	No, never	
(a) Before you were 12 years of age?	1	2	3	12
(b) When you were between 12 and 18 years of age?	1	2	3	13

4 Except for the period of childhood referred to in the previous question, have you had any other experience of using Afrikaans because of the environment in which you lived or worked?

	Yes, often	Yes, occasionally	No, never	
(a) Where you lived	1	2	3	14
(b) Where you worked	1	2	3	15

5 What is the highest educational qualification you have in Afrikaans as second language?

None	1	
Primary School	2	
Junior Certificate (Std 8)	3	
Senior Certificate (Std 10)	4	
University/College	5	16

6 If you attended a school, university or college where you received a good deal or all of your instruction through medium of Afrikaans, please indicate all those applicable in the list below:

	Yes	No	
Nursery School	1	2	17
Primary School	1	2	18
High School	1	2	19
University/College	1	2	20

7 At what stage in your life did you obtain a working knowledge of Afrikaans?

Never	1	
Pre-school	2	
In Primary School	3	
In High School	4	
After leaving school	5	21

8 Apart from English, in what other language/languages can you carry on a conversation?

..... 22

9 Apart from English, of which other language/languages do you have a reading knowledge?

..... 23

B CURRENT USE OF THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGES

Speaking

10 Have you, during 1972/73, delivered addresses, given lectures, or explained something important to groups of people in English or Afrikaans?

	Yes, often	Yes, occasionally	No, never	
(a) In English	1	2	3	24
(b) In Afrikaans	1	2	3	25

11 Do you sometimes count under your breath in Afrikaans or do calculations in Afrikaans?

Yes, often	1	
Very seldom/Never	2	26

12 Have you had an Afrikaans conversation lately:

	Yes	No	
(a) During the past month?	1	2	27
(b) During the past week?	1	2	28

13 How often do you speak Afrikaans to the following persons:

	Seldom/Never use the language for this purpose	Occasionally have the opportunity but seldom/never make use of it	Occasionally have the opportunity and do actually make use of it	Often have the opportunity but seldom/never make use of it	Often have the opportunity and occasionally make use of it	Often have the opportunity and usually make use of it	
(a) To your husband/wife?	1	2	3	4	5	6	29
(b) To members of your family living with you?	1	2	3	4	5	6	30
(c) To Afrikaans mother tongue or Afrikaans-speaking relatives?	1	2	3	4	5	6	31
(d) to your best friends? male	1	2	3	4	5	6	32
female	1	2	3	4	5	6	33
(e) To acquaintances?	1	2	3	4	5	6	34
(f) To strangers?	1	2	3	4	5	6	35

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14 Do you:

	Seldom/Never use the language for this purpose	Occasionally have the opportunity but seldom/ never make use of it	Occasionally have the opportunity and do actually make use of it	Often have the opportunity but seldom/ never make use of it	Often have the opportunity and occasionally make use of it	Often have the opportunity and usually make use of it	
(a) Have brief and casual conversations in Afrikaans with Afrikaans-speaking people?	1	2	3	4	5	6	36
(b) Have serious conversations in Afrikaans?	1	2	3	4	5	6	37

09

15 How often do you speak Afrikaans in the different spheres of life (Remember to omit questions not applicable to you):

	Seldom/Never use the language for this purpose	Occasionally have the opportunity but seldom/ never make use of it	Occasionally have the opportunity and do actually make use of it	Often have the opportunity but seldom/ never make use of it	Often have the opportunity and occasionally make use of it	Often have the opportunity and usually make use of it	
(a) In connection with your work?	1	2	3	4	5	6	38
(b) In connection with sport?	1	2	3	4	5	6	39
(c) In financial matters and at your bank?	1	2	3	4	5	6	40

(Question 15 continued - How often do you speak Afrikaans:)

	Seldom/Never use the language for this purpose	Occasionally have the opportunity but seldom/never make use of it	Occasionally have the opportunity and do actually make use of it	Often have the opportunity but seldom/never make use of it	Often have the opportunity and occasionally make use of it	Often have the opportunity and usually make use of it	
(d) When dealing with the Civil service or municipality?	1	2	3	4	5	6	41
(e) When dealing with hotel and restaurant staff?	1	2	3	4	5	6	42
(f) In a café or greengrocer's?	1	2	3	4	5	6	43
(g) When doing other shopping?	1	2	3	4	5	6	44
(h) In activities connected with the church?	1	2	3	4	5	6	45
(i) When speaking to professional people like doctors, dentists and chemists?	1	2	3	4	5	6	46
(j) At a club or society to which you belong?	1	2	3	4	5	6	47
(k) When dealing with non-professional people (artisans, mechanics, painters, builders, plumbers, electricians, etc.)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	48
(l) With servants (house maid, gardener)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	49

Reading

16 Do you read more English or more Afrikaans books:

	Read only English books	Read more English than Afrikaans books	Read more Afrikaans than English books	Read only Afrikaans books	
(a) For relaxation?	1	2	3	4	50
(b) In connection with your work?	1	2	3	4	51

17 Do you read more English or more Afrikaans magazines, picture-stories and newspapers?

	Read only in English	Read more in English than in Afrikaans	Read more in Afrikaans than in English	Read only in Afrikaans	
(a) Magazines (and picture-stories)	1	2	3	4	52
(b) Newspapers	1	2	3	4	53

18 Indicate how much time you spend on the different kinds of reading material given in the list below. Use the numbers 1 to 4: 1 to indicate most time and 4 to indicate least time. Do this for both English and Afrikaans.

	English	Afrikaans	
Books			54, 55
Magazines			56, 57
Newspapers			58, 59
Comics and other picture-stories			60, 61

19 Do you own an Afrikaans or an English-Afrikaans dictionary?

Yes	1	
No	2	62

20 Have you read the following recently:

	In English		In Afrikaans		
	Yes	No	Yes	No	
(a) A newspaper during the past week (including the weekend)?	1	2	1	2	63, 64
(b) A magazine during the past month?	1	2	1	2	65, 66
(c) A book during the past 3 months?	1	2	1	2	67, 68

(For office use)		
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Listening

21 Do you listen to, and follow, Afrikaans in any of the following ways?

	Often	Occasionally	Seldom/Never	
(a) Over the radio	1	2	3	1
(b) At film shows	1	2	3	2
(c) At meetings and other gatherings	1	2	3	3
(d) In conversation of others	1	2	3	4
(e) In stage shows	1	2	3	5

22 During the past week, have you listened to anything in Afrikaans over the radio?

Yes	1	
No	2	6

Writing

23 Do you write the following in Afrikaans:

	Often	Occasionally	Seldom/Never	
(a) Informal friendly letters?	1	2	3	7
(b) Formal and business letters?	1	2	3	8
(c) Reports in connection with your work?	1	2	3	9

24 Have you written anything in English or Afrikaans during the past month (excluding copying something already written)?

	Yes	No	
(a) In English	1	2	10
(b) In Afrikaans	1	2	11

25 In which of the following ways do you have most to do with Afrikaans:

	Speak it more	Read it more	
(a) Speaking and reading?	1	2	12
	Listen to it more	Write it more	
(b) Listening and writing?	1	2	13

C GENERAL

26 Have you ever been taken for a mother-tongue speaker of Afrikaans by Afrikaans-speaking people?

Yes, often	1	
Yes, occasionally	2	
No, never	3	14

27 Would you like people to believe that you were Afrikaans-speaking when in Afrikaans company?

I would like it	1	
It doesn't matter to me	2	
I wouldn't like it	3	15

28 Do you at times feel that you can express yourself better in Afrikaans than in English?

Yes, often	1	
Yes, occasionally	2	
No, never	3	16

29 If you find that you can express yourself better in Afrikaans than in English, when does it occur:

	Yes	No	
(a) When explaining something in connection with your work?	1	2	17
(b) When you are very excited or angry?	1	2	18
(c) When you are enjoying yourself in the company of others?	1	2	19

30 How well can you speak Afrikaans when suddenly presented with the opportunity of conversing for a minute or two with a stranger on a topic which you know well and can talk about? Please indicate, by means of crosses, how good your usage would be as far as pronunciation, vocabulary and grammar are concerned:

	Pronunciation	Vocabulary	Grammar
Very good, like one whose mother tongue is Afrikaans	1	1	1
Good, but weaker than one whose mother tongue is Afrikaans	2	2	2
Fairly good, acceptable	3	3	3
Fairly weak, not quite acceptable	4	4	4
Very weak	5	5	5
Cannot speak it at all	6	6	6

20 - 22

31 In your opinion, what should the official languages (or language) of the Republic be?

English and Afrikaans	1
English only	2
Afrikaans only	3
English and a Bantu language/languages	4
Afrikaans and a Bantu language/ languages	5
English, Afrikaans and a Bantu language/ languages	6
Some other possibility	7

23

32 When presented with a newspaper article, in English or in Afrikaans, on some general topic, would you:

Be unable to read it in Afrikaans?	1
Find it much more difficult to read in Afrikaans than in English?	2
Find it slightly more difficult to read in Afrikaans than in English?	3
Be able to read either of the articles with the same ease?	4
Be able to read an Afrikaans article with more ease than an English article?	5

24

33 What do you feel about the kind of English used in, for example, prepared news broadcasts, public speeches, newspaper reports, etc.? (Mark each of the 4 below.)

	Yes	No	
(a) I object to bad grammar and the use of slang and colloquial expressions	1	2	25
(b) I believe that it is important to keep English pure and avoid the use of Afrikaans words and expressions	1	2	26
(c) I believe that Afrikaans place names should be pronounced in an English fashion	1	2	27
(d) I do not feel strongly about how English is used on the radio and in newspapers	1	2	28

34 If you do not often have the chance to speak Afrikaans, do you think that, given more opportunities to do so, you would make greater use of Afrikaans?

Not applicable, already speak it often	1	
Yes, I would like to speak it more often	2	
No, I don't think I would really try to speak it more often	3	29

35 When listening to an everyday newscast in English or in Afrikaans over the radio, would you:

Not be able to follow an Afrikaans broadcast at all?	1	
Have much more difficulty in following an Afrikaans broadcast than an English one?	2	
Have slightly more difficulty in following an Afrikaans broadcast than an English one?	3	
Be able to follow either of the broadcasts equally well?	4	
Follow the Afrikaans broadcast with greater ease than the English one?	5	30

36 Do you ever feel you would like to improve:

	Yes	No	
(a) Your English pronunciation?	1	2	31
(b) Your Afrikaans?	1	2	32

37 Did you take any positive steps in 1972/73 to improve:

	Yes	No	
(a) Your use of English?	1	2	33
(b) Your use of Afrikaans?	1	2	34

38 Do you think that you place yourself at a disadvantage if you do not speak Afrikaans?

Yes, definitely	1
Yes, it could be	2
No, not really	3
No, definitely not	4

35

39 Are English-speaking people who are not familiar with Afrikaans at a serious disadvantage when they have to deal with matters relating to:

	Yes	No	
(a) Commerce and industry?	1	2	36
(b) The administration of the country?	1	2	37
(c) Social relationships?	1	2	38

40 Do you sometimes speak Afrikaans to Afrikaans-speaking people in order to make a good impression?

Yes, often	1
Yes, occasionally	2
No, never	3

39

41 Do you only want to be able to understand written and spoken Afrikaans well, or do you also want to be able to speak it well?

Only be able to understand written and spoken Afrikaans well	1
Also be able to speak it well	2
Neither of these alternatives	3

40

42 How do Afrikaans-speaking people usually react when someone tries to speak Afrikaans to them?

Afrikaans-speaking people rather switch to English	1
Afrikaans-speaking people make one feel that they disapprove of one's Afrikaans	2
Afrikaans-speaking people make one feel that they appreciate one's attempt to speak Afrikaans	3

41

43 When speaking Afrikaans, do you often have to hesitate in order to find the correct words/grammatical constructions before speaking?

Do not speak Afrikaans	1
Yes, often	2
Yes, occasionally	3
No, never	4

42

44 Can you tell any jokes entirely in Afrikaans?

Yes	1
With difficulty	2
No	3

43

45 Do you have children whom you have sent/are sending/intend sending to a school where the medium of instruction is entirely or partly Afrikaans?

Yes	1
No	2

44

46 Do you think it a good idea for an English-speaking family to:

	Yes	No	Do not know	
(a) Send their children to an Afrikaans school?	1	2	3	45
(b) Send their children to an English-Afrikaans school (dual or parallel medium)?	1	2	3	46

47 Do you sometimes consciously avoid a situation because you know that you would be expected to speak Afrikaans?

Yes	1
No	2

47

48 When you are addressed in fluent Afrikaans by an unknown person:

Do you immediately reply in English?	1
Do you answer in Afrikaans or try to get as far as possible with Afrikaans?	2

48

D BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

49 Your sex:

Male	1	
Female	2	49

50 Your age in years:

18 - 24	1	
25 - 34	2	
35 - 44	3	
45 - 54	4	
55 - 64	5	
65 and older	6	50

51 Your marital state:

Married	1	
Not married yet	2	
Divorced/Separated	3	
Widow/Widower	4	51

52 The highest educational qualifications held by you and your husband/wife:

	Up to Std 5	St 6, 7 or 8	St 9 or 10	Std 10 plus 1 - 2 years further study	Std 10 plus 3 or more years further study	
(a) Held by you?	1	2	3	4	5	52
(b) Held by your husband/wife?	1	2	3	4	5	53

53 Your church affiliation or faith (answer even if you are not an active church-goer), e.g. "Anglican", "Methodist", "Catholic", "Jewish", etc., or "none":

(a) Of yourself: 54

(b) Of your father: 55

(c) Of your mother: 56

54 What kind of work do you and your spouse do? (Specify in detail the type of work, as well as where you work; e.g. housewife; teacher at primary school; plumber with own business, etc.)

(a) You: 57

(b) Your husband/wife: 58

55 What was your first occupation?

..... 59

56 What was your father's occupation?

..... 60

57 What were the occupations of each of your grandfathers?

.....

..... 61

58 Income: What is the total yearly income of you and your wife, before deductions? (If you have already retired, ignore this question)

Less than 2 000	1	R8 000 - 9 000	8
R2 000 - 3 000	2	R9 000 - 10 000	9
R3 000 - 4 000	3	R10 000 - 11 000	10
R4 000 - 5 000	4	R11 000 - 12 000	11
R5 000 - 6 000	5	R12 000 - 14 000	12
R6 000 - 7 000	6	R14 000 - 16 000	13
R7 000 - 8 000	7	R16 000 - 18 000	14
		More than R18 000	15

62 - 63

59 How long have you been living in the city/town where you are now resident?

..... 64

60 If you have also lived in other cities, towns or rural areas, please indicate where and for how long. (Only mention the three most important places, e.g. Kimberley ± 5 years; Nylstroom district 12 years; Newcastle 8 years)

.....

.....

..... 65 - 67

61 Did either parent or any grandparent come to South Africa as an immigrant:

(a) Which? 68

(b) When? 69

(c) From where? 70

62 Which schools have you attended after the age of 12? (If more than one of the possible answers apply to you, cross only the one which contributed most to your education)

A government or state school outside the Republic	1
A private school outside the Republic (in Britain a "public school")	2
Any private school in the Eastern Province	3
Any one of the following: Boys: St Johns, Johannesburg; Bishops, Cape Town; Hilton or Michaelhouse, Natal; Kearsney, Natal Girls: Roedean, Kingsmead or St Andrews, Johannesburg; Wykham, Natal; Herschel or St Cyprians, Cape Town	4
Any Anglican or Methodist private school not mentioned above	5
Any other school in the Republic	6

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(For office use)		
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APPENDIX III

THE TABLES

TABLE A.1

CHOICE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES*

		By sex						By language						Afr.						Eng.					
		M		F		Total		Afr.		Eng.		Total		M		F				M		F			
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	Total		N	%	N	%	Total	
(1) Afr. / Eng.	N	341	44,8	421	55,2	762	100	502	65,9	260	34,1	762	100	222	44,2	280	55,8	502		119	48,8	141	54,2	260	
	%	48,5		46,6		47,4		54,7		37,7		47,4		54,7		54,7				40,1		36,0			
(2) L_1 (of respondent)	N	55	60,4	36	39,6	91	100	64	70,3	27	29,7	91	100	37	57,8	27	42,2	64		18	66,7	9	33,3	27	
	%	7,8		4,0		5,7		7,0		3,9		5,7		9,1		5,3				6,1		2,3			
(3) L_2 (of respondent)	N	4	66,7	2	33,3	6	100	3	50,0	3	50,0	6	100	1	33,3	2	66,7	3		3	100,0	0	0,0	3	
	%	0,6		0,2		0,4		0,3		0,4		0,4		0,3		0,4				1,0		0			
(4) L_1 / Bantu language(s)	N	8	44,4	10	55,6	18	100	13	72,2	5	27,8	18	100	6	46,2	7	53,8	13		2	40,0	3	60,0	5	
	%	1,1		1,1		1,1		1,4		0,7		1,1		1,5		1,4				0,7		0,8			
(5) L_2 / Bantu language(s)	N	3	60,0	2	40,0	5	100	4	80,0	1	20,0	5	100	2	50,0	2	50,0	4		1	100,0	0	0,0	1	
	%	0,4		0,2		0,3		0,4		0,1		0,3		0,5		0,4				0,3		0,0			
(6) Eng/Afr/Bantu language(s)	N	278	40,6	406	59,4	684	100	318	46,5	366	53,5	684	100	131	41,2	187	58,8	318		147	40,2	219	59,8	366	
	%	39,5		44,9		42,6		34,6		53,1		42,6		32,3		36,5				49,5		55,9			
(7) Other	N	2	20,0	8	80,0	10	100	2	20,0	8	80,0	10	100	1	50,0	1	50,0	2		1	12,5	7	82,5	8	
	%	0,3		0,9		0,6		0,2		1,2		0,6		0,3		0,2				0,3		1,8			
Blanks	N	12	38,7	19	61,3	31	100	12	38,7	19	61,3	31	100	6	50,0	6	50,0	12		6	31,6	13	68,4	19	
	%	1,7		2,1		1,9		1,3		2,8		1,9		1,5		1,2				2,0		3,3			
TOTAL	N	703	43,7	904	56,3	1607	100	918	57,1	689	42,9	1607	100	406	44,2	512	55,8	918		297	43,1	392	56,9	689	
	%	100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100				100		100			

TABLE A.2

CHOICE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGE(S) BY LANGUAGE AND AGE

		AFRIKANERS												ESSAS									
		18–24		25–34		35–44		45–54		55+		TOTAL		18–24		25–34		35–44		45–54		55+		TOTAL	
		N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Eng/Afr	N	83	16,6	128	25,6	114	22,8	91	18,2	84	16,8	500	100	30	11,6	53	20,5	43	16,6	61	23,6	72	27,8	259	100
	%	61,5		55,4		52,8		52,9		56,8		55,4		31,6		36,1		35,8		44,5		42,9		38,8	
Afr	N	9	14,1	19	29,7	16	25,0	11	17,2	9	14,1	64	100	7	25,9	8	29,6	5	18,5	3	11,1	4	14,8	27	100
	%	6,7		8,2		7,4		6,4		6,1		7,1		7,4		5,4		4,1		2,2		2,4		4,0	
Eng	N	0	0,0	1	33,3	0	0,0	2	66,7	0	0,0	3	100	0	0,0	1	33,3	0	0,0	0	0,0	2	66,7	3	100
	%	0,0		0,4		0,0		1,2		0,0		0,5		0,0		0,7		0,0		0,0		1,2		0,4	
Afr/ Bantu	N	1	7,7	4	30,8	4	30,8	2	15,4	2	15,4	13	100	3	60,0	1	20,0	0	0,0	1	20,0	0	0,0	5	100
	%	0,7		1,7		1,9		1,2		1,4		1,4		3,2		0,7		0,0		0,7		0,0		0,7	
Eng/ Bantu	N	1	25,0	1	25,0	1	25,0	0	0,0	1	25,0	4	100	0	0,0	1	100,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	100
	%	0,7		0,4		0,5		0,0		0,7		0,4		0,0		0,7		0,0		0,0		0,0		0,1	
Afr/Eng/ Bantu	N	40	12,7	78	24,7	81	25,6	66	20,9	51	16,1	316	100	55	15,1	82	22,5	70	19,2	70	19,2	87	23,9	364	100
	%	29,6		33,8		37,5		38,4		34,5		35,0		57,9		55,8		58,3		51,1		51,8		54,6	
Other	N	1	50,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	0	0,0	1	50,0	2	100	0	0,0	1	12,5	2	25,0	2	25,0	3	37,5	8	100
	%	0,7		0,0		0,0		0,0		0,7		0,2		0,0		0,7		1,7		1,5		1,8		1,2	
TOTAL	N	135	15,0	231	25,6	216	23,9	172	19,1	148	16,4	902	100	95	14,2	147	22,0	120	18,0	137	20,5	168	25,2	667	100
	%	100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100	

TABLE A.3

CHOICE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES : BY LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS.

Status		AFRIKANERS Upper	Middle	Lower	Total	ESSAS Upper	Middle	Lower	Total
Afr/Eng.	N	133	185	123	441	74	91	51	216
	%	54,5	56,4	55,7	55,6	30,8	40,6	51,5	38,4
Respon-	N	17	29	12	58	15	5	2	22
dent's L_1	%	7,0	8,8	5,4	7,3	6,3	2,2	2,0	3,9
Respon-	N	0	1	2	3	1	1	0	2
dent's L_2	%	0,0	0,3	0,9	0,4	0,4	0,5	0,0	0,4
L_1 /Bantu	N	2	3	6	11	0	2	1	3
	%	0,8	0,9	2,7	1,4	0,0	0,9	1,0	0,5
L_2 /Bantu	N	0	0	3	3	1	0	0	1
	%	0,0	0,0	1,4	0,4	0,4	0,0	0,0	0,2
Afr/Eng/ Bantu	N	92	108	75	275	146	123	44	313
	%	37,7	32,9	33,9	34,7	60,8	54,9	44,4	55,6
Other	N	0	2	0	2	3	2	1	6
	%	0,0	0,6	0,0	0,3	1,3	0,9	1,0	1,1
Total	N	244	328	221	793	240	224	99	563
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE A.4

CHOICE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES: BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY

Language		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
Bilinguality		Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L_2	Total	Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L_2	Total
Afr/Eng	N	172	170	91	2	435	54	67	93	22	236
	%	54,3	53,3	60,0	66,7	55,0	42,5	31,9	40,3	45,8	38,3
Respondent's L_1	N	16	27	11	1	55	2	13	7	2	24
	%	5,1	8,5	7,2	33,3	7,0	1,6	6,2	3,0	4,2	3,9
Respondent's L_2	N	1	0	1	0	2	1	0	1	1	3
	%	0,3	0,0	0,7	0,0	0,3	0,8	0,0	0,4	2,1	0,5
L_1/Bantu	N	4	3	4	0	11	0	0	5	0	5
	%	1,3	0,9	2,6	0,0	1,4	0,0	0,0	2,2	0,0	0,8
L_2/Bantu	N	1	1	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	1
	%	0,3	0,3	0,7	0,0	0,4	0,0	0,0	0,4	0,0	0,2
Afr/Eng/Bantu	N	122	117	44	0	283	69	128	122	22	341
	%	38,5	36,7	29,0	0,0	35,8	54,3	61,0	52,8	45,8	55,4
Other	N	1	1	0	0	2	1	2	2	1	6
	%	0,3	0,3	0,0	0,0	0,3	0,8	1,0	0,9	2,1	1,0
Total	N	317	319	152	3	791	127	210	231	48	616
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE A.5

CHOICE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES: BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

		AFRIKANERS							ESSAS						
		Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside home	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside home	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside home	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside home	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside home	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside home	TOTAL	Home language was L but often spoke L_2 outside home	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside home	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside home	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside home	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside home	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside home	TOTAL
Afr/Eng	N	143	187	78	22	3	3	436	34	71	56	20	5	21	207
	%	54,8	57,2	52,0	56,4	30,0	100	55,2	30,9	37,6	37,1	48,8	38,5	51,2	38,0
Respondent's L_1	N	14	24	17	1	1	0	57	4	6	9	0	3	2	24
	%	5,4	7,3	11,3	2,6	10,0	0,0	7,2	3,6	3,2	6,0	0,0	23,1	4,9	4,4
Respondent's L_2	N	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	2	1	0	0	0	3
	%	0,4	0,0	0,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,3	0,0	1,1	0,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,6
L_1/Bantu	N	3	6	4	0	0	0	13	0	0	5	0	0	0	5
	%	1,2	1,8	2,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,7	0,0	0,0	3,3	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,9
L_2/Bantu	N	1	1	1	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
	%	0,4	0,3	0,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,4	0,9	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,2
Afr/Eng/Bantu	N	98	109	48	16	6	0	277	71	109	76	21	5	17	299
	%	37,6	33,3	32,0	41,0	60,0	0,0	35,1	64,6	57,7	50,3	51,2	38,5	41,5	54,9
Other	N	1	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	1	4	0	0	1	6
	%	0,4	0,0	0,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,3	0,0	0,5	2,7	0,0	0,0	2,4	1,1
Total	N	261	327	150	39	10	3	790	110	189	151	41	13	41	545
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE A.6

CHOICE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES : BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE
(i.e. extent of language contact up to 18 years of age and after)

Had L_2 contact :		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
		Whole period	Up to 18 yrs.	From 18 yrs.	Never	Total	Whole period	Up to 18 yrs.	From 18 yrs.	Never	Total
Afr/Eng	N	270	22	38	28	358	148	11	30	30	219
	%	56,5	45,8	48,7	58,3	54,9	39,4	40,7	35,3	40,5	39,0
Respondents L_1	N	26	1	7	8	42	15	0	5	6	26
	%	5,4	2,1	9,0	16,7	6,4	4,0	0,0	5,9	8,1	4,6
Respondents L_2	N	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	1	3
	%	0,2	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,2	0,5	0,0	0,0	1,4	0,5
L_1/Bantu	N	7	1	3	0	11	0	0	2	3	5
	%	1,5	2,1	3,9	0,0	1,7	0,0	0,0	2,4	4,1	0,9
L_2/Bantu	N	2	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0,4	0,0	1,3	0,0	0,5	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Afr/Eng/Bantu	N	172	24	29	12	237	209	15	45	33	302
	%	36,0	50,0	37,2	25,0	36,4	55,6	55,6	52,9	44,6	53,7
Other	N	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	3	1	7
	%	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,5	3,7	3,5	1,4	1,3
Total	N	478	48	78	48	652	376	27	85	74	562
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE A.7

CHOICE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES: BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT (I.E. CURRENT CONTACT WITH L_2)

AFRIKANERS

		Never have contact with L_2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual conversations in L_2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have serious conversations in L_2	Often have serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and often serious conversations in L_2	TOTAL
Afr./Eng.	N	56	80	86	36	36	96	1	0	21	415
	%	66,7	49,4	58,1	63,2	48,7	49,5	16,7	0,0	55,6	54,4
Respondent's L_1	N	8	17	8	2	4	10	2	2	2	55
	%	9,5	10,5	5,4	3,5	5,4	5,2	33,3	50,0	5,9	7,2
Respondent's L_2	N	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	3
	%	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,8	0,0	0,5	16,7	0,0	0,0	0,4
L_1/Bantu	N	3	0	4	1	1	1	0	1	0	11
	%	3,6	0,0	2,7	1,8	1,4	0,5	0,0	25,0	0,0	1,4
L_2/Bantu	N	0	1	1	0	0	2	0	0	0	4
	%	0,0	0,6	0,7	0,0	0,0	1,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,5
Afr./Eng./Bantu	N	17	63	48	17	33	84	2	1	8	273
	%	20,2	38,9	32,4	29,8	44,6	43,3	33,3	25,0	23,5	35,8
Other	N	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	%	0,0	0,6	0,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,3
Total	N	84	162	148	57	74	194	6	4	34	763
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
		ESSAS									
Afr./Eng.	N	49	63	32	16	17	59	1	1	2	240
	%	39,5	37,5	36,8	41,0	33,3	42,5	50,0	100,0	16,7	38,5
Respondent's L_1	N	11	5	4	0	3	2	0	0	1	26
	%	8,9	3,0	4,6	0,0	5,9	1,4	0,0	0,0	8,3	4,2
Respondent's L_2	N	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
	%	0,8	0,6	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,5
L_1/Bantu	N	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
	%	2,4	1,2	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,8
L_2/Bantu	N	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Afr./Eng./Bantu	N	56	96	49	23	31	76	1	0	9	341
	%	45,2	57,1	56,3	59,0	60,8	54,7	50,0	0,0	75,0	54,7
Other	N	4	1	2	0	0	1	0	0	0	8
	%	3,2	0,6	2,3	0,0	0,0	0,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	1,3
Total	N	124	168	87	39	51	139	2	1	12	623
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE A.8

CHOICE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES : BY LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

		AFRIKANERS								ESSAS							
		Pretoria	Vaal triangle	Johannes= burg	Bloem= fontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town	Total	Pretoria	Vaal triangle	Johannes= burg	Bloem= fontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town	Total
Afr/Eng	N	91	33	98	22	9	32	51	336	10	2	73	4	41	29	49	208
	%	57,2	52,4	63,2	36,7	75,0	57,1	56,0	56,4	32,3	25,0	43,7	25,0	40,6	37,7	33,3	38,0
Respon= dent's L_1	N	17	4	15	6	0	1	5	48	1	0	2	1	7	2	9	22
	%	10,7	6,4	9,7	10,0	0,0	1,8	5,5	8,1	3,2	0,0	1,2	6,3	7,0	2,6	6,1	4,0
Respon= dent's L_2	N	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	1	3
	%	0,6	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	2,2	0,5	0,0	0,0	1,2	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,7	0,6
L_1/Bantu	N	2	4	1	2	0	0	2	11	0	0	1	0	0	3	1	5
	%	1,3	6,4	0,7	3,3	0,0	0,0	2,2	1,9	0,0	0,0	0,6	0,0	0,0	3,9	0,7	0,9
L_2/Bantu	N	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	%	0,6	0,0	0,7	0,0	0,0	1,8	0,0	0,5	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
Afr/Eng/ Bantu	N	46	22	40	29	3	22	31	193	19	6	87	11	52	43	85	303
	%	28,9	34,9	25,8	48,3	25,0	39,3	34,1	32,4	61,3	75,0	52,1	68,8	51,5	55,8	57,8	55,4
Other	N	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	6
	%	0,6	0,0	0,0	1,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,3	3,2	0,0	1,2	0,0	1,0	0,0	1,4	1,1
Total	N	159	63	155	60	12	56	91	596	31	8	167	16	101	77	147	547
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE B.1

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY PLACE THEMSELVES AT A DISADVANTAGE WITHOUT L_2*

	By sex						by language						Afr					Eng				
	M		F		Total		Afr		Eng		Total		M		F		Total	M		F		Total
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	N	%	N	%	N
Yes definitely N	415	47,3	463	52,7	878	100	525	59,8	353	40,2	878	100	256	48,8	269	51,2	525	159	45,0	194	55,0	353
%	59,0		51,2		54,6		57,2		51,2		54,6		63,1		52,5		57,2	53,5		49,5		51,2
Yes it could be N	159	38,8	257	61,2	410	100	234	57,1	176	42,9	410	100	88	37,6	146	62,4	234	71	40,3	105	59,7	176
%	22,6		27,8		25,5		25,5		25,5		25,5		21,7		28,5		15,5	23,9		26,8		25,5
No not really N	87	38,7	138	61,3	225	100	101	44,9	124	55,1	225	100	37	36,6	64	63,4	101	50	40,3	74	59,7	124
%	12,4		15,3		14,0		11,0		18,0		14,0		9,1		12,5		11,0	16,8		18,9		18,0
No definitely not N	29	43,9	37	56,1	66	100	42	63,6	24	36,4	66	100	17	40,5	25	59,5	42	12	50,0	12	50,0	24
%	4,1		4,1		4,1		4,6		3,5		4,1		4,2		4,9		4,6	4,0		3,1		3,5
Blanks N	13	46,4	15	53,6	28	100	16	57,1	12	42,9	28	100	8	50,0	8	50,0	16	5	41,7	7	58,3	12
%	1,8		1,7		1,7		1,7		1,7		1,7		2,0		1,6		1,7	1,7		1,8		1,7
TOTAL N	703	43,7	904	56,3	1607	100	918	57,1	689	42,9	1607	100	406	44,2	512	55,8	918	297	43,1	392	56,9	689
%	100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100	100		100		100

*Blanks are taken into account in this Table.

TABLE B.2

RESPONDENTS WHO THINK THEY PLACE THEMSELVES AT A DISADVANTAGE WITHOUT L_2
BY LANGUAGE AND AGE

Age	AFRIKANERS												ESSAS											
	18–24		25–34		35–44		45–54		55+		Total		18–24		25–34		35–44		45–54		55+		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Yes definitely	80	15,3	141	27,0	128	24,5	93	17,8	81	15,5	523	100	39	11,0	79	22,4	69	19,5	74	21,0	92	26,1	353	100
	61,5		60,5		59,3		55,0		54,0		58,2		41,1		52,7		57,0		54,4		53,2		52,3	
Yes, could be	33	14,2	63	27,0	56	24,0	49	21,0	32	13,7	233	100	34	19,5	33	19,0	29	16,7	36	20,7	42	24,1	174	100
	25,4		27,0		25,9		29,0		21,3		25,9		35,8		22,0		24,0		26,5		24,3		25,8	
No not really	13	13,0	22	22,0	22	22,0	18	18,0	25	25,0	100	100	21	16,9	33	26,6	20	16,1	20	16,1	30	24,2	124	100
	10,0		9,4		10,2		10,7		16,7		11,1		22,1		22,0		16,5		14,7		17,3		18,4	
No definitely not	4	9,5	7	16,7	10	23,8	9	21,4	12	28,6	42	100	1	4,2	5	20,8	3	12,5	6	25,0	9	37,5	24	100
	3,1		3,0		4,6		5,3		8,0		4,7		1,1		3,3		2,5		4,4		5,2		3,6	
Total	130	14,5	233	25,9	216	24,1	169	18,8	150	16,7	898	100	95	14,1	150	22,2	121	17,9	136	20,1	173	25,6	675	100
	100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100		100	

TABLE B.3

REPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY PLACE THEMSELVES AT A DISADVANTAGE WITHOUT L_2 BY LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS.

	AFRIKANERS				ESSAS			
Status	Upper	Middle	Lower	Total	Upper	Middle	Lower	Total
Yes definitely N	150	195	116	461	138	112	47	297
%	61,7	60,0	52,7	58,5	56,3	49,3	47,5	52,0
Yes, could be N	64	79	58	201	59	63	23	145
%	26,3	24,3	26,4	25,5	24,1	27,8	23,2	25,4
Not really N	20	34	31	85	41	44	25	110
%	8,2	10,5	14,1	10,8	16,7	19,4	25,3	19,3
Definitely not N	9	17	15	41	7	8	4	19
%	3,7	5,2	6,8	5,2	2,9	3,5	4,0	3,3
Total N	243	325	220	788	245	227	99	571
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE B.4

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY PLACE THEMSELVES AT A DISADVANTAGE WITHOUT L_2 BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY.

Bilinguality		AFRIKANERS Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L_2	Total	ESSAS Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L_2	Total
Yes definitely	N	232	179	52	0	463	90	120	97	22	329
	%	74,1	56,3	34,2	0,0	58,9	71,4	56,9	41,6	44,8	53,2
Yes could be	N	49	93	63	1	206	17	48	82	13	160
	%	15,7	29,3	41,5	33,3	26,2	13,5	22,8	35,2	26,5	25,9
No, not really	N	22	36	29	0	87	17	39	44	10	110
	%	7,0	11,3	19,1	0,0	11,1	13,5	18,5	18,9	20,4	17,8
Definitely not	N	10	10	8	2	30	2	4	10	4	20
	%	3,2	3,1	5,3	66,7	3,8	1,6	1,9	4,3	8,2	3,2
Total	N	313	318	152	3	786	126	211	233	49	619
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE B.5

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY PLACE THEMSELVES AT A DISADVANTAGE WITHOUT L_2 BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

		AFRIKANERS							ESSAS						
		Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL	Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL
Yes, definitely	N	186	177	67	25	7	1	463	72	36	64	28	6	23	291
	%	71,3	54,3	45,0	65,8	63,6	33,3	58,8	66,1	51,0	41,0	68,3	46,2	57,5	52,8
Yes, could be	N	44	101	46	9	1	1	202	27	52	46	4	3	10	142
	%	16,9	31,0	30,9	23,7	9,1	33,3	25,6	24,8	27,1	29,5	9,8	23,1	25,0	25,8
Not really	N	23	35	25	2	3	1	89	7	41	32	6	4	6	96
	%	8,8	10,7	16,8	5,3	27,3	33,3	11,3	6,4	21,4	20,5	14,6	30,8	15,0	17,4
Definitely not	N	8	13	11	2	0	0	34	3	1	14	3	0	1	22
	%	3,1	4,0	7,4	5,3	0,0	0,0	4,3	2,8	0,5	9,0	7,3	0,0	2,5	4,0
Total	N	261	326	149	38	11	3	788	109	192	156	41	13	40	551
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE B.6

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY PLACE THEMSELVES AT A DISADVANTAGE WITHOUT L_2
BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE

Had L_2 Contact		AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
		Whole period	Up to 18 yrs.	From 18 yrs.	Never	Total	Whole period	Up to 18 yrs.	From 18 yrs.	Never	Total
Yes, definitely	N	302	25	39	17	383	229	9	39	27	304
	%	63,7	52,1	50,7	35,4	59,2	60,6	33,3	44,8	35,1	53,4
Yes, could be	N	117	12	24	16	169	83	6	26	26	141
	%	24,7	25,0	31,2	33,3	26,1	22,0	22,2	29,9	33,8	24,8
Not really	N	42	7	11	11	71	59	12	18	15	104
	%	8,9	14,6	14,3	22,9	11,0	15,6	44,4	20,7	19,5	18,3
Definitely not	N	13	4	3	4	24	7	0	4	9	20
	%	2,7	8,3	3,9	8,3	3,7	1,9	0,0	4,6	11,7	3,5
Total	N	474	48	77	48	647	378	27	87	77	569
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE B.7

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY PLACE THEMSELVES AT A DISADVANTAGE WITHOUT L_2 BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT (I.E. CURRENT CONTACT WITH L_2)

		Never have contact with L_2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual conversations in L_2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have serious conversations in L_2	Often have serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and often serious conversations in L_2	TOTAL
AFRIKANERS											
Yes definitely	N	27	61	81	36	39	159	1	2	22	448
	%	32,1	87,9	55,5	63,2	79,6	82,4	20,0	50,0	64,7	59,1
Yes Could be	N	22	70	39	14	9	22	3	1	9	189
	%	26,2	43,5	26,7	24,6	12,2	11,4	60,0	25,0	26,5	24,9
Not really	N	26	22	21	5	5	8	1	0	1	89
	%	31,0	13,7	14,4	8,8	6,8	4,2	20,0	0,0	2,9	11,7
Definitely not	N	9	8	5	2	1	4	0	1	2	32
	%	10,7	5,0	3,4	3,5	1,4	2,1	0,0	25,0	5,9	4,2
Total	N	84	161	146	57	74	193	5	4	34	758
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
ESSAS											
Yes definitely	N	44	76	57	17	35	96	1	1	7	334
	%	34,9	45,0	64,8	43,6	68,6	69,6	50,0	100,0	53,9	53,3
Yes Could be	N	40	51	23	12	9	24	0	0	4	163
	%	31,8	30,2	26,1	30,8	17,7	17,4	0,0	0,0	30,8	26,0
Not really	N	29	39	8	9	6	18	1	0	2	112
	%	23,0	23,0	9,1	23,0	11,8	13,0	50,0	0,0	15,4	17,9
Definitely not	N	13	3	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	18
	%	10,3	1,8	0,0	2,6	2,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	2,9
Total	N	126	169	88	39	51	138	2	1	13	627
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE B.8

RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THEY PLACE THEMSELVES AT A DISADVANTAGE WITHOUT L_2

BY LANGUAGE AND PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Place of Residence		AFRIKANERS								ESSAS							
		Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town	Total	Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town	Total
Yes definitely	N	87	32	102	35	12	38	52	358	20	4	88	7	51	36	75	281
	%	56,1	51,6	65,4	56,5	100,0	67,9	57,8	60,4	62,5	57,1	52,1	43,8	48,6	46,2	51,4	50,8
Yes could be	N	43	15	31	16	0	10	26	141	4	2	46	6	30	21	41	150
	%	27,7	24,2	19,9	25,8	0,0	17,9	28,9	23,8	12,5	28,6	27,2	37,5	28,6	26,9	28,1	27,1
Not really	N	17	3	15	8	0	6	9	68	6	1	32	3	19	15	25	101
	%	11,0	21,0	9,6	12,9	0,0	10,7	10,0	11,5	18,8	14,3	18,9	18,8	18,1	19,2	17,1	18,3
Definitely not	N	8	2	8	3	0	2	3	26	2	0	3	0	5	6	5	21
	%	5,1	3,2	5,1	4,8	0,0	3,6	3,3	4,4	6,3	0,0	1,8	0,0	4,8	7,7	3,4	3,8
Total	N	155	62	156	62	12	56	90	593	32	7	169	16	105	78	146	553
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C.1

AREAS IN WHICH PEOPLE NOT FAMILIAR WITH THE L_2 ARE AT A DISADVANTAGE BY LANGUAGE AND SEX

			Sex			Language			Afr.			Eng.		
			M	F	Tot.	Afr.	Eng.	Tot.	M	F	Tot.	M	F	Tot.
			N%	N%	N%	N%	N%	N%	N%	N%	N%	N%	N%	N%
(a) COMMERCE	Yes	N	505	621	1 126	769	357	1 126	358	411	769	147	210	357
		%	76,3	78,9	77,7	93,3	56,8	77,7	94,7	93,0	93,8	51,8	60,9	56,8
	No	N	157	166	323	51	272	323	20	31	51	137	135	272
		%	23,7	21,1	22,3	6,2	43,2	22,3	5,3	7,0	6,2	48,2	39,1	43,2
	Tot.	N	662	787	1 449	820	629	1 449	378	442	820	284	345	629
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(b) ADMINISTRATION	Yes	N	438	578	1 016	513	503	1 016	220	293	513	218	285	503
		%	69,9	77,7	74,1	69,2	79,8	74,1	63,8	74,0	69,2	77,3	81,9	79,8
	No	N	189	166	355	228	127	355	125	103	228	64	63	127
		%	30,1	22,3	25,9	30,8	20,2	25,9	36,2	26,0	30,8	22,7	18,1	20,2
	Tot.	N	627	744	1 371	741	630	1 371	345	396	741	282	348	630
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(c) SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS	Yes	N	406	559	965	625	340	965	274	351	625	132	208	340
		%	63,3	71,0	67,6	78,3	54,0	67,6	76,1	80,1	78,3	47,0	59,6	54,0
	No	N	235	228	463	173	290	463	86	87	173	149	141	290
		%	36,7	29,0	32,4	21,7	46,0	32,4	23,9	19,9	21,7	53,0	40,4	46,0
	Tot.	N	641	787	1 428	798	630	1 428	360	438	798	281	349	630
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C.2

AREAS IN WHICH PEOPLE NOT FAMILIAR WITH L_2 ARE AT A DISADVANTAGE BY LANGUAGE AND AGE

Age		AFRIKANERS						ESSAS					
		18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55 +	Total	18-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55 +	Total
(a) Commerce													
Yes	N	103	203	191	141	129	767	47	76	62	76	95	356
	%	91,2	94,9	94,1	93,4	94,9	93,9	52,8	53,5	55,4	62,8	58,6	56,9
No	N	10	11	12	10	7	50	42	66	50	45	67	270
	%	8,8	5,1	5,9	6,6	5,1	6,1	47,2	46,5	44,6	37,2	41,4	43,1
Total	N	113	214	203	151	136	817	89	142	112	121	162	626
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(b) Administration													
Yes	N	71	141	126	87	87	512	67	118	93	95	128	501
	%	68,9	72,7	67,7	65,9	70,7	69,4	75,3	83,1	80,9	77,2	81,0	79,9
No	N	32	53	60	45	36	226	22	24	22	28	30	126
	%	31,1	27,3	32,3	34,1	29,3	30,6	24,7	16,9	19,1	22,8	19,0	20,1
Total	N	103	194	186	132	123	738	89	142	115	123	158	627
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(c) Social Relationship													
Yes	N	92	157	153	115	106	623	44	72	61	74	89	340
	%	78,6	77,3	78,5	79,3	78,5	78,4	49,4	51,1	53,0	60,2	56,0	54,2
No	N	25	46	42	30	29	172	45	69	54	49	70	287
	%	21,4	22,7	21,5	20,7	21,5	21,6	50,6	48,9	47,0	39,8	44,0	45,8
Total	N	117	203	195	145	135	795	89	141	115	123	159	627
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C.3

AREAS IN WHICH PEOPLE NOT FAMILIAR WITH L_2 ARE AT A DISADVANTAGE BY LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS.

	AFRIKANERS				ESSAS			
Status	Upper	Middle	Lower	Total	Upper	Middle	Lower	Total
(a) Commerce								
Yes N	225	274	176	675	104	131	56	291
%	94,1	93,5	92,6	93,5	44,8	62,4	62,9	54,8
No N	14	19	14	47	128	79	33	240
%	5,9	6,5	7,4	6,5	55,2	37,6	37,1	45,2
Total N	239	293	190	722	232	210	89	531
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(b) Administration								
Yes N	144	176	128	448	188	168	65	421
%	64,3	68,2	76,7	69,0	79,3	81,2	74,7	79,3
No N	80	82	39	201	49	39	22	110
%	35,7	31,8	23,4	31,0	20,7	18,8	25,3	20,7
Total N	224	258	167	649	237	207	87	531
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(c) Social Relationships								
Yes N	175	224	144	543	113	117	52	282
%	75,8	80,3	77,0	77,9	48,5	56,0	59,1	53,2
N N	56	55	43	154	120	92	36	248
%	24,2	19,7	23,0	22,1	51,5	44,0	40,9	46,8
Total N	231	279	187	697	233	209	88	530
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C.4

AREAS IN WHICH PEOPLE NOT FAMILIAR WITH L_2 ARE AT A DISADVANTAGE BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY

Bilinguality		AFRIKANERS Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L_2	Total	ESSAS Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L_2	Total
(a) Commerce											
Yes	N	289	276	123	1	689	73	115	115	24	327
	%	96,7	94,5	87,3	50,0	93,9	60,3	58,1	51,6	57,1	56,0
No	N	10	16	18	1	45	48	83	108	18	257
	%	3,3	5,5	12,8	50,0	6,1	39,7	41,9	48,4	42,9	44,0
Total	N	299	292	141	2	734	121	198	223	42	584
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(b) Administration											
Yes	N	188	186	82	1	457	99	157	175	37	468
	%	68,1	69,4	64,6	50,0	67,9	81,8	78,9	78,8	86,1	80,0
No	N	88	82	45	1	216	22	42	47	6	117
	%	31,9	30,6	35,4	50,0	32,1	18,2	21,1	21,2	14,0	20,0
Total	N	276	268	127	2	673	121	199	222	43	585
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(c) Social Relationships											
Yes	N	238	230	84	1	553	76	102	109	28	315
	%	81,2	80,7	62,2	50,0	77,3	63,3	51,3	49,1	60,9	53,7
No	N	55	55	51	1	162	44	97	113	18	272
	%	18,8	19,3	37,8	50,0	22,7	36,7	48,7	50,9	39,1	46,3
Total	N	293	285	135	2	715	120	199	222	46	587
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C.5

AREAS IN WHICH PEOPLE NOT FAMILIAR WITH L_2 ARE AT A DISADVANTAGE

BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

			AFRIKANERS							ESSAS						
			Home Language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL	Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL
(a) Commerce	Yes	N	233	275	130	34	8	2	682	63	95	69	32	9	16	284
		%	95,1	93,2	92,2	94,4	100,0	100,0	93,8	60,0	51,9	49,3	82,1	75,0	43,2	55,0
	No	N	12	20	11	2	0	0	45	42	88	71	7	3	21	232
		%	4,9	6,8	7,8	5,6	0,0	0,0	6,2	40,0	48,1	50,7	18,0	25,0	56,8	45,0
TOTAL		N	245	259	141	36	8	2	727	105	183	140	39	12	37	516
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(b) Administration	Yes	N	163	183	81	25	4	1	457	82	147	108	34	11	28	410
		%	72,8	67,0	65,3	80,7	57,1	50,0	69,1	78,9	80,3	76,6	87,2	91,7	75,7	79,5
	No	N	61	90	43	6	3	1	204	22	36	33	5	1	9	106
		%	27,2	33,0	34,7	19,4	42,9	50,0	30,9	21,2	19,7	23,4	12,8	8,3	24,3	20,5
TOTAL		N	224	273	124	31	7	2	661	104	183	141	39	12	37	516
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(c) Social Relations	Yes	N	197	225	92	31	7	1	553	57	87	64	28	9	23	268
		%	82,4	78,4	69,2	88,6	87,5	50,0	78,6	55,3	48,3	44,4	73,7	69,2	59,0	51,8
	No	N	42	62	41	4	1	1	151	46	93	80	10	4	16	249
		%	17,6	21,6	30,8	11,4	12,5	50,0	21,4	44,7	51,7	55,6	26,3	30,8	41,0	48,2
TOTAL		N	239	287	133	35	8	2	704	103	180	144	38	13	39	517
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C.6

AREAS IN WHICH PEOPLE NOT FAMILIAR WITH L_2 ARE AT A DISADVANTAGE
BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE

	AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
HAD L_2 CONTACT	Whole period	up to 18 years	from 18 years	never	Total	whole period	up to 28 years	from 18 years	never	Total
(a) Commerce										
Yes N	420	42	72	38	572	216	8	44	35	303
%	93,8	97,7	96,0	86,4	93,8	59,5	34,8	55,7	51,5	56,9
No N	28	1	3	6	38	147	15	35	33	230
%	6,3	2,3	4,0	13,6	6,2	40,5	65,2	44,3	48,5	43,2
Total N	448	43	75	44	610	363	23	79	68	533
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(b) Administration										
Yes N	283	35	43	24	385	292	18	67	52	429
%	68,4	79,6	65,2	60,0	68,3	80,7	75,0	82,7	77,6	80,3
No N	131	9	23	16	179	70	6	14	15	105
%	31,6	20,5	34,9	40,0	31,7	19,3	25,0	17,3	22,4	19,7
Total N	414	44	66	40	564	362	24	81	67	534
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(c) Social Relationships										
Yes N	349	38	51	25	463	204	10	40	33	287
%	79,9	82,6	72,9	59,5	77,8	56,7	40,0	48,8	47,8	53,5
No N	88	8	19	17	132	156	15	42	36	249
%	20,1	17,4	27,1	40,5	22,2	43,3	60,0	51,2	52,2	46,5
Total N	437	46	70	42	595	360	25	82	69	536
%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C.7

AREAS IN WHICH PEOPLE NOT FAMILIAR WITH L_2 ARE AT DISADVANTAGE. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT

			Never have contact with L_2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual conversations in L_2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have serious conversations in L_2	Often have serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and often serious conversations in L_2	TOTAL
AFRIKANERS												
Commerce	Yes	N	65	145	122	49	69	182	4	2	33	671
		%	86,7	97,3	91,7	87,5	97,2	97,3	100,0	100,0	100,0	94,5
	No	N	10	4	11	7	2	5	0	0	0	39
		%	13,3	2,7	8,3	12,5	2,8	2,7	0,0	0,0	0,0	5,5
Total		N	75	149	133	56	71	187	4	2	33	710
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Administration	Yes	N	43	102	76	33	44	133	3	2	19	455
		%	64,2	74,5	61,8	62,3	65,7	75,6	75,0	100,0	67,9	69,3
	No	N	24	35	47	20	23	43	1	0	9	202
		%	35,8	25,6	38,2	37,7	34,3	24,4	25,0	0,0	32,1	30,8
Total		N	67	137	123	53	67	176	4	2	28	657
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Social relationships	Yes	N	44	112	104	41	57	150	4	3	23	538
		%	60,3	76,7	79,4	75,9	81,4	82,4	80,0	100,0	76,7	77,5
	No	N	29	34	27	13	13	32	1	0	7	156
		%	39,7	23,3	20,6	24,1	18,6	17,6	20,0	0,0	23,3	22,5
Total		N	73	146	131	54	70	182	5	3	30	694
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
ESSAS												
Commerce	Yes	N	58	77	51	20	27	92	1	1	4	331
		%	49,6	48,1	60,7	55,5	52,9	69,7	50,0	100,0	40,0	55,8
	No	N	59	83	33	16	24	40	1	0	6	262
		%	50,4	51,9	39,3	44,4	47,1	30,3	50,0	0,0	60,0	44,2
Total		N	117	160	84	36	51	132	2	1	10	593
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Administration	Yes	N	86	131	72	25	39	110	1	1	9	474
		%	74,1	81,4	84,7	71,4	76,5	84,6	50,0	100,0	81,8	80,1
	No	N	30	30	13	10	12	20	1	0	2	118
		%	25,9	18,6	15,3	28,6	23,5	15,4	50,0	0,0	18,2	19,9
Total		N	116	161	85	35	51	130	2	1	11	592
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Social Relationships	Yes	N	49	74	52	23	25	85	0	1	6	315
		%	41,9	45,4	62,7	65,7	50,0	65,9	0,0	100,0	54,6	53,3
	No	N	68	89	31	12	25	44	2	0	5	276
		%	58,1	54,6	37,4	34,3	50,0	34,1	100,0	0,0	45,5	46,7
Total		N	117	163	83	35	50	129	2	1	11	591
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE C.8

AREAS IN WHICH PEOPLE NOT FAMILIAR WITH L_2 ARE AT A DISADVANTAGE

BY LANGUAGE AND AREAS OF RESIDENCE

Area of residence		AFRIKANERS								ESSAS							
		Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town	Total	Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannesburg	Bloemfontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town	Total
(a) Commerce																	
Yes	N	139	52	137	55	8	45	78	514	18	5	83	14	53	41	75	289
	%	96,5	94,6	95,8	96,5	100	95,7	94,0	95,7	62,1	71,4	50,3	87,5	53,5	60,3	56,4	55,9
No	N	5	3	6	2	0	2	5	23	11	2	82	2	46	27	58	228
	%	3,5	5,5	4,2	3,5	0,0	4,3	6,0	4,3	37,9	28,6	49,7	12,5	46,5	39,7	43,6	44,1
Total	N	144	55	143	57	8	47	83	537	29	7	165	16	99	68	133	517
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(b) Administration																	
Yes	N	104	30	94	37	6	35	56	362	23	5	132	15	80	53	107	415
	%	77,0	61,2	72,9	68,5	75,0	83,3	74,7	73,6	82,1	83,3	81,0	93,8	80,0	76,8	79,3	80,3
No	N	31	19	35	17	2	7	19	130	5	1	31	1	20	16	28	102
	%	23,0	38,8	27,1	31,5	25,0	16,7	25,3	26,4	17,9	16,7	19,0	6,3	20,0	23,2	20,7	19,7
Total	N	135	49	129	54	8	42	75	492	28	6	163	16	100	69	135	517
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(c) Social Relationships																	
Yes	N	111	39	111	41	8	39	69	418	17	3	79	10	52	42	70	273
	%	78,7	76,5	80,4	70,7	80,0	84,8	84,2	79,5	58,6	50,0	48,5	62,5	51,5	62,7	51,5	52,7
No	N	30	12	27	17	2	7	13	108	12	3	84	6	49	25	66	245
	%	21,3	23,5	19,6	29,3	20,0	15,2	15,9	20,5	41,4	50,0	51,5	37,5	48,5	37,3	48,5	47,3
Total	N	141	51	138	58	10	46	82	526	29	6	163	16	101	67	136	518
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.I

RESPONDENTS IN FAVOUR OF SENDING CHILDREN TO (a) L_2, (b) BILINGUAL SCHOOLS BY LANGUAGE AND SEX

		by sex			by language			Afrikaners			ESSAS		
		M	F	Total	Afr	ESSA	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
L_2 Medium Yes	N	82	109	191	119	72	191	48	71	119	34	38	72
	%	19,1	22,2	20,7	24,4	16,6	20,7	21,3	27,1	24,4	16,7	16,5	16,6
No	N	301	320	621	318	303	621	155	163	318	146	157	303
	%	70,2	65,0	67,4	65,3	69,8	67,4	68,9	62,2	65,3	71,6	68,3	69,8
Don't know	N	46	63	109	50	59	109	22	28	50	24	35	59
	%	10,7	12,8	11,8	10,3	13,6	11,8	9,8	10,7	10,3	11,8	15,2	13,6
TOTAL	N	429	492	921	487	434	921	225	262	487	204	230	434
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Dual Medium													
Yes	N	532	715	1247	710	537	1247	304	406	710	228	309	537
	%	82,0	86,1	84,3	85,2	83,1	84,3	81,3	88,5	85,2	82,9	83,3	83,1
No	N	79	70	149	91	58	149	53	38	91	26	32	58
	%	12,2	8,4	10,1	10,9	9,0	10,1	14,2	8,3	10,9	9,5	8,6	9,0
Don't know	N	38	45	83	32	51	83	17	15	32	21	30	51
	%	5,9	5,4	5,6	3,8	7,9	5,6	4,5	3,3	3,8	7,5	8,1	7,9
TOTAL	N	649	830	1479	833	646	1479	374	459	833	275	371	646
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.2

RESPONDENTS IN FAVOUR OF SENDING CHILDREN TO (a) L_2 MEDIUM, (b) BILINGUAL SCHOOLS BY LANGUAGE AND AGE

			AFRIKANERS					
Age			18-24	25-34	35-44	45-64	55+	Total
			N	N	N	N	N	N
2nd Language med.	Yes	N	17	29	28	18	25	117
		%	22,1	22,5	23,5	23,1	30,9	24,2
	No	N	46	81	83	55	52	317
		%	59,7	62,8	69,7	70,5	64,2	65,5
	Don't know	N	14	19	8	5	4	50
		%	18,2	14,7	6,7	6,4	4,9	10,3
	Total	N	77	129	119	78	81	484
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bilingual school	Yes	N	100	182	169	135	122	708
		%	84,7	86,3	82,8	84,4	89,1	85,3
	No	N	12	21	26	20	11	90
		%	10,2	10,0	12,7	12,5	8,0	10,8
	Don't know	N	6	8	9	5	4	32
		%	5,1	3,8	4,4	3,1	2,9	3,9
	Total	N	118	211	204	160	137	830
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100
			ESSAS					
2nd Language med.	Yes	N	9	14	15	12	22	72
		%	12,7	13,2	17,2	15,0	24,7	16,6
	No	N	46	81	59	56	60	302
		%	64,8	76,4	67,8	70,0	67,4	69,7
	Don't know	N	16	11	13	12	7	59
		%	22,5	10,4	14,9	15,0	7,9	13,6
	Total	N	71	106	87	80	89	433
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bilingual school	Yes	N	68	114	91	118	143	534
		%	77,3	79,7	79,8	88,1	87,7	83,2
	No	N	10	22	9	8	9	58
		%	11,4	15,4	7,9	6,0	5,5	9,0
	Don't know	N	10	7	14	8	11	50
		%	11,4	4,9	12,3	6,0	6,7	7,8
	Total	N	88	143	114	134	163	642
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.3

RESPONDENTS IN FAVOUR OF SENDING CHILDREN TO (a) L_2 MEDIUM, (b) BILINGUAL SCHOOLS. BY LANGUAGE AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

Status			AFRIKANERS				ESSAS			
			Upper	Middle	Lower	Total	Upper	Middle	Lower	Total
L_2 Medium	Yes	N	29	44	30	103	25	24	11	60
		%	18,8	27,5	27,0	24,2	15,6	16,6	17,7	16,4
	No	N	116	98	65	279	120	99	40	259
		%	75,3	61,3	58,6	65,7	75,0	68,3	64,5	70,6
	Don't know	N	9	18	16	43	15	22	11	48
		%	5,3	11,3	14,4	10,1	9,4	15,2	17,7	13,1
	Total	N	154	160	111	425	160	145	62	367
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bilingual	Yes	N	179	263	179	621	199	179	75	453
		%	79,6	87,1	90,9	85,8	83,6	83,3	84,3	83,6
	No	N	36	26	12	74	29	19	2	50
		%	16,0	8,6	6,1	10,2	12,2	8,8	2,3	9,2
	Don't know	N	10	13	6	29	10	17	12	39
		%	4,4	4,3	3,1	4,0	4,2	7,9	13,5	7,2
	Total	N	225	302	197	724	238	215	89	542
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

RESPONDENTS IN FAVOUR OF SENDING CHILDREN TO (a) L_2 MEDIUM, (b) BILINGUAL SCHOOLS. BY LANGUAGE AND BILINGUALITY

Bilinguality			AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
			Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L_2	Total	Good	Fair	Weak	Cannot speak L_2	Total
L_2 Medium	Yes	N	42	43	17	0	102	15	24	24	1	64
		%	24,7	24,0	16,5	0,0	22,5	22,4	15,6	16,1	3,0	15,9
	No	N	116	119	70	2	307	43	113	99	30	285
		%	68,2	66,5	68,0	100	67,6	64,2	73,4	66,4	90,9	70,7
	Don't know	N	12	17	16	0	45	9	17	26	2	54
		%	7,1	9,5	15,5	0,0	9,9	13,4	11,0	17,5	6,1	13,4
	Total	N	170	179	103	2	454	67	154	149	33	403
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bilingual	Yes	N	252	254	108	2	616	109	175	177	34	495
		%	87,2	85,2	76,1	66,7	84,2	88,6	84,5	80,5	72,3	82,9
	No	N	31	32	24	1	88	7	17	23	8	55
		%	10,7	10,7	16,9	33,3	12,0	5,7	8,2	10,5	17,0	9,2
	Don't know	N	6	12	10	0	28	7	15	20	5	47
		%	2,1	4,0	7,0	0,0	3,8	5,7	7,3	9,1	10,6	7,9
	Total	N	289	298	142	3	732	123	207	220	47	597
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.5

RESPONDENTS IN FAVOUR OF SENDING CHILDREN TO (a) L_2 MEDIUM, (b) BILINGUAL SCHOOLS BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE BACKGROUND

		AFRIKANERS						ESSAS						
		Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL	Home language was L_1 but often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 but occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_1 and never spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	Home language was both L_1 and L_2 and occasionally spoke L_2 outside	Home language was L_2 and often spoke L_2 outside	TOTAL
(a) L_2 Medium															
Yes	N	49	35	15	4	1	1	105	9	26	8	9	0	5	57
	%	32,7	19,9	16,3	22,2	25,0	100	23,8	13,0	18,8	8,2	27,3	0,0	22,7	15,5
No	N	90	124	65	14	1	0	294	54	94	80	18	4	13	263
	%	60,0	70,5	70,7	77,8	25,0	0,0	66,7	78,3	68,1	81,6	54,6	57,1	59,1	71,7
Don't know	N	11	17	12	0	2	0	42	6	18	10	6	3	4	47
	%	7,3	9,7	13,0	0,0	50,0	0,0	9,5	8,7	13,0	10,2	18,2	42,9	18,2	12,8
Total	N	150	176	92	18	4	1	441	69	138	98	33	7	22	367
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(b) Bilingual															
Yes	N	203	257	106	36	8	2	612	97	143	116	33	11	35	435
	%	88,7	84,0	74,1	92,3	80,0	100	84,0	90,7	80,3	77,9	84,6	84,6	87,5	82,7
No	N	20	36	29	3	0	0	88	7	20	20	3	0	2	52
	%	8,7	11,8	20,3	7,7	0,0	0,0	12,1	6,5	11,2	13,4	7,7	0,0	5,0	9,9
Don't know	N	6	13	8	0	2	0	29	3	15	13	3	2	3	39
	%	2,6	4,3	5,6	0,0	20,0	0,0	4,0	2,8	8,4	8,7	7,7	15,4	7,5	7,4
Total	N	229	306	143	39	10	2	729	107	178	149	39	13	40	526
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.6

RESPONDENTS IN FAVOUR OF SENDING CHILDREN TO (a) L_2 MEDIUM, (b) BILINGUAL SCHOOLS BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE

			AFRIKANERS					ESSAS				
Had L_2 Contact			Whole period	Up to 18 yrs.	From 18 yrs.	Never	Total	Whole period	Up to 18 yrs.	From 18 yrs.	Never	Total
L_2 Medium	Yes	N	70	9	11	4	94	50	1	6	3	60
		%	25,3	31,0	22,0	12,9	24,3	18,8	8,3	9,8	6,7	15,6
	No	N	182	18	34	24	258	176	9	48	39	272
		%	66,7	62,1	68,0	77,4	66,7	66,2	75,0	78,7	86,7	70,8
	Don't know	N	25	2	5	3	35	40	2	7	3	52
		%	9,0	6,9	10,0	9,7	9,0	15,0	16,7	11,5	6,7	13,5
	Total	N	277	29	50	31	387	266	12	61	45	384
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bilingual	Yes	N	376	39	59	28	502	307	20	71	50	448
		%	85,8	88,6	76,6	66,7	83,5	84,8	87,0	86,6	66,7	82,7
	No	N	47	5	14	11	77	30	2	7	15	54
		%	10,7	11,4	18,2	26,2	12,8	8,3	8,7	8,5	20,0	10,0
	Don't know	N	15	0	4	3	22	25	1	4	10	40
		%	3,4	0,0	5,2	7,1	3,7	6,9	4,4	4,9	13,3	7,4
	Total	N	438	44	77	42	601	362	23	82	75	542
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.7

RESPONDENTS IN FAVOUR OF SENDING CHILDREN TO (a) L_2 MEDIUM, (b) BILINGUAL SCHOOLS. BY LANGUAGE AND LANGUAGE ENVIRONMENT

			Never have contact with L_2	Occasionally have casual conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual conversations in L_2	Often have casual and occasionally serious conversations in L_2	Often have casual and serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have serious conversations in L_2	Often have serious conversations in L_2	Occasionally have casual and often serious conversations in L_2	TOTAL
AFRIKANERS												
L_2 Medium	Yes	N	8	19	20	13	6	34	0	0	4	104
		%	14,8	22,1	23,5	33,3	16,2	28,6	0,0	0,0	26,7	23,6
	No	N	38	56	56	23	28	77	3	1	9	291
		%	70,4	65,1	65,9	59,0	75,7	64,7	100	50,0	60,0	66,1
	Don't know	N	8	11	9	3	3	8	0	1	2	45
		%	14,8	12,8	10,6	7,7	8,1	6,7	0,0	50,0	13,3	10,2
	Totaal	N	54	86	85	39	37	119	3	2	15	440
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bilingual	Yes	N	59	136	106	44	61	153	4	1	28	592
		%	75,6	88,9	77,4	83,0	87,1	89,0	80,0	33,3	87,5	84,2
N	No	N	16	9	25	7	7	16	1	1	2	84
		%	20,5	5,9	18,3	13,2	10,0	9,3	20,0	33,3	6,3	12,0
	Don't know	N	3	8	6	2	2	3	0	1	2	27
		%	3,9	5,2	4,4	3,8	2,9	1,7	0,0	33,3	6,3	3,8
	Total	N	78	153	137	53	70	172	5	3	32	703
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
ESSAS												
L_2 Medium	Yes	N	6	19	10	5	3	25	0	0	0	68
		%	7,6	16,4	16,7	17,9	8,8	28,1	0,0	0,0	0,0	16,4
	No	N	63	79	44	17	24	56	0	1	7	291
		%	79,8	68,1	73,3	60,7	70,6	62,9	0,0	100	87,5	70,1
	Don't know	N	10	18	6	6	7	8	0	0	1	56
		%	12,7	15,5	10,0	21,4	20,6	9,0	0,0	0,0	12,5	13,5
	Total	N	79	116	60	28	34	89	0	1	8	415
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bilingual	Yes	N	87	137	71	30	43	115	2	1	11	497
		%	71,9	86,2	80,7	88,2	82,7	88,5	100	100	84,6	82,8
	No	N	21	9	10	1	3	10	0	0	1	55
		%	17,4	5,7	11,4	2,9	5,8	7,7	0,0	0,0	8,7	9,2
	Don't know	N	13	13	7	3	6	5	0	0	1	48
		%	10,7	8,2	8,0	8,8	11,5	3,9	0,0	0,0	8,7	8,0
	Total	N	121	159	88	34	52	130	2	1	13	600
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE D.8

RESPONDENTS IN FAVOUR OF SENDING CHILDREN TO (a) L_2 MEDIUM, (b) BILINGUAL SCHOOLS. BY LANGUAGE AND AREA OF RESIDENCE

Language			AFRIKANERS							ESSAS							
Area of Residence			Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannes-burg	Bloem-fontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town	Total	Pretoria	Vaal Triangle	Johannes-burg	Bloem-fontein	Natal	Eastern Cape	Cape Town	Total
L_2 Medium	Yes	N	22	9	14	6	1	8	7	67	4	1	16	3	7	8	15	54
		%	25,6	30,0	14,0	20,7	20,0	26,7	20,6	21,3	22,2	33,3	14,4	30,0	10,0	19,1	15,8	15,5
	No	N	51	21	76	20	3	19	20	210	10	1	84	3	55	25	66	247
		%	59,3	70,0	76,0	69,0	60,0	63,3	58,8	66,9	55,6	33,3	75,7	60,0	78,6	59,5	69,5	70,8
Don't know		N	13	0	10	3	1	3	7	37	4	1	11	1	8	9	14	48
		%	15,1	0,0	10,0	10,3	20,0	10,0	20,6	11,8	22,2	33,3	9,9	10,0	11,4	21,4	14,7	13,8
Total		N	86	30	100	29	5	30	34	314	18	3	111	10	70	42	95	349
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Bilingual	Yes	N	125	50	110	48	9	40	79	461	29	7	122	13	80	64	125	440
		%	85,0	89,3	75,9	88,9	81,8	88,9	96,3	85,4	96,7	100	73,9	86,7	81,6	85,3	91,2	83,5
	No	N	16	6	25	4	2	1	1	55	1	0	24	0	10	7	5	47
		%	10,9	10,7	17,2	7,4	18,2	2,2	1,2	10,2	3,3	0,0	14,6	0,0	10,2	9,3	3,7	8,9
Don't know		N	6	0	10	2	0	4	2	24	0	0	19	2	8	4	7	40
		%	4,1	0,0	6,9	3,7	0,0	8,9	2,4	4,4	0,0	0,0	11,5	13,3	8,2	5,3	5,1	7,6
Total		N	147	56	145	54	11	45	82	540	30	7	165	15	98	75	137	527
		%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

TABLE E.1

THE STANDARD OF PROFICIENCY IN L_2 GRAMMAR AMONG AFRIKANERS AND ESSAS: SELF-EVALUATION SCORES BY LANGUAGE AND AGE

		AFRIKANERS						ESSAS					
AGE		18–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55 +	Total	18–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55 +	Total
Very Good	N	8	25	19	25	25	102	5	18	15	11	11	60
	%	7,5	12,6	10,4	18,1	19,7	13,5	5,8	12,9	13,2	8,8	7,0	9,6
Good	N	26	56	81	41	40	244	14	21	24	23	15	97
	%	24,3	28,1	44,5	29,7	31,5	32,4	16,3	15,0	21,1	18,4	9,6	15,6
Fairly Good	N	53	85	68	47	32	285	30	60	35	33	49	207
	%	49,5	42,7	37,4	34,1	25,2	37,8	34,9	42,9	30,7	26,4	31,2	33,3
Fairly weak	N	16	28	13	22	14	93	23	25	16	27	28	119
	%	15,0	14,1	7,1	15,9	11,0	12,4	26,7	17,9	14,0	21,6	17,8	19,1
Very Weak	N	3	4	1	3	14	25	11	12	17	25	25	90
	%	2,8	2,0	0,5	2,2	11,0	3,3	12,8	8,6	14,9	20,0	15,9	14,5
Cannot speak L_2	N	1	1	0	0	2	4	3	4	7	6	29	49
	%	0,9	0,5	0,0	0,0	1,6	0,5	3,5	2,9	6,1	4,8	18,5	7,9
Total	N	107	199	182	138	127	753	86	140	114	125	157	622
	%	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

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